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NEW TIMES

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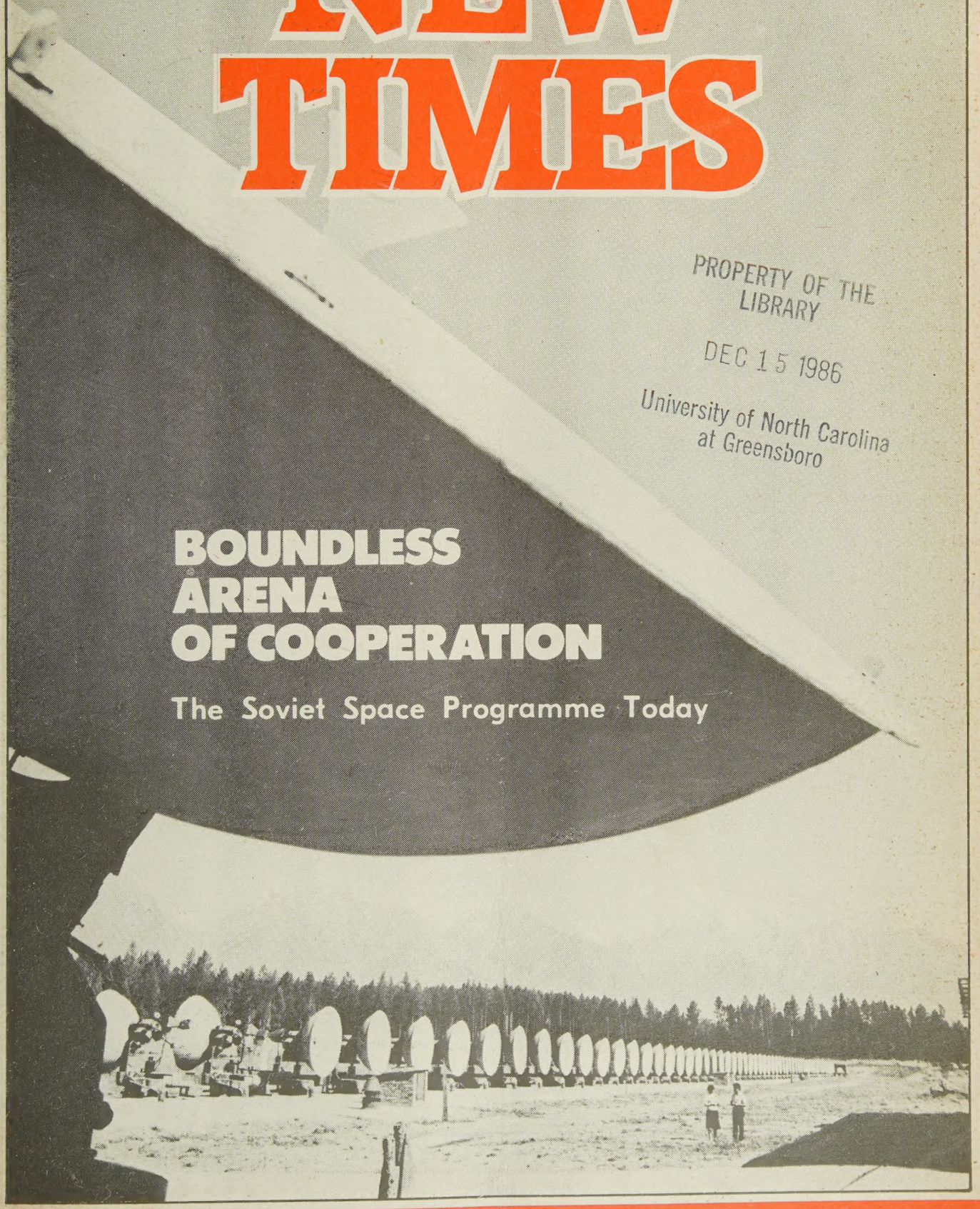
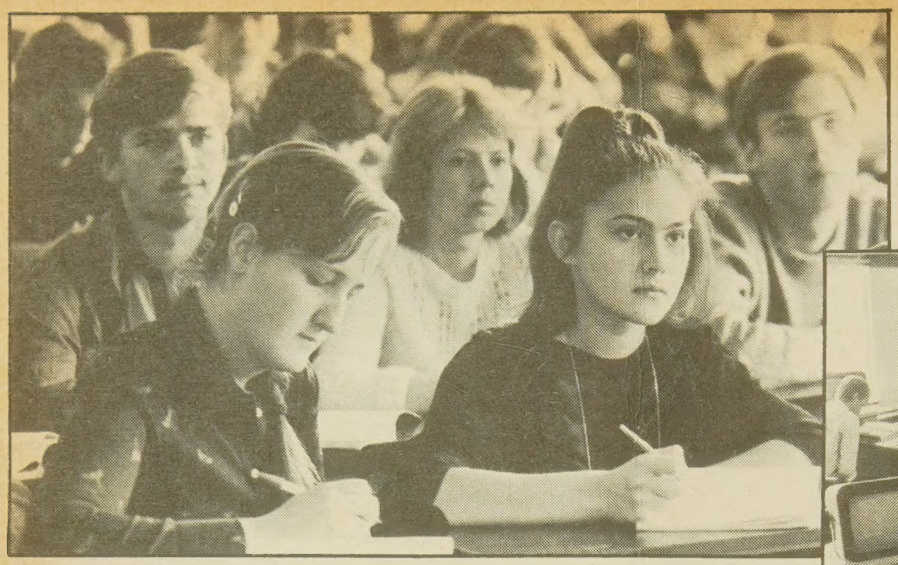
BOUNDLESS ARENA OF COOPERATION

The Soviet Space Programme Today





Future engineers.

Learning to master computer techniques.

Learning the New Way

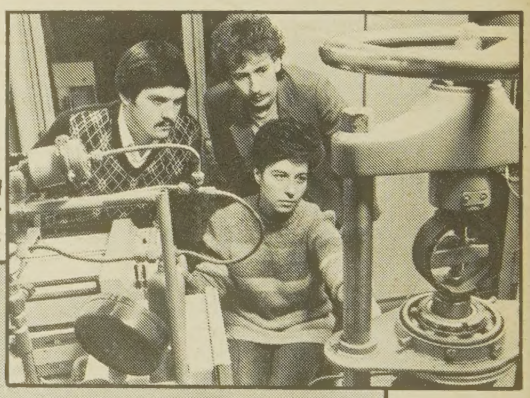
To work the new way it is essential to learn the job in the new way. This is the underlying principle of the recasting of the entire system of vocational training now under way in our country. The idea is not only to introduce the young people to the latest in science and technology but to accustom them from the start to creative thinking and rational organization of the production process.

To do this it is necessary to approximate the training process to production as much as possible. A highly important role in this is played by the higher technical schools functioning at leading industrial enterprises. Their graduates as a rule launch out on independent working careers well versed in the secrets of their vocations.

At the college on the factory floor at the Likhachev Auto Plant in Moscow, for instance, the auditoriums and laboratories are fitted out with laser equipment, numerical control machine tools and electrohydraulic die presses—the latest in production technology without which an up-to-date auto plant is inconceivable. Today's trainees will be next century's engineers, and the plant provides them with every facility for mastering the latest technology. They not only pore over textbooks, but are given the opportunity to exercise their ability for creative work as well as do practical training on the production line, where they make a notable contribution to overall effort of the work force. It is not by chance that the rationalization proposals advanced by students' hobby groups and scientific and technological societies show a thorough knowledge of the needs of the given plant.

In time these students will become skilled and highly competent engineers so needed by our rapidly developing automobile industry.

Conducting an experiment.



The new building of the plant's higher technical school.

TASS photos

To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World

Message from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Mindful of the fact that the common historical destinies of all countries and peoples in the face of the nuclear threat imperatively dictate the need for joint action to avert it, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has deemed it necessary to address all parliaments and peoples of the world.

The Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik marked a qualitatively new stage in the effort to bring about a world without nuclear weapons. We know now that nuclear weapons can be eliminated even during the lifetime of the present generation.

It is precisely with this aim in view that our country advanced its bold, yet perfectly feasible, programme.

The Soviet Union **proposes** reducing by 50 per cent the **strategic offensive arms** of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. over a period of five years. In the five years after that, that is, by the end of 1996, all the remaining arms of the sides in that category would be subject to elimination.

We propose **completely eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles** of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. in Europe, and radically reducing the number of missiles of that category in Asia.

We propose that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. pledge **not to exercise their right to withdraw from the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems—a treaty of unlimited duration**—over a period of 10 years and to strictly observe all of its provisions. We are opposed to SDI and stand for strengthening the ABM treaty.

Finally, we propose that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. immediately enter into negotiations on the **complete termination of nuclear tests.**

The idea is that all the radical nuclear disarmament measures proposed by the Soviet Union should be carried out under the strictest possible control, including international control with on-site inspection.

The radical measures listed above make up an integral package. The package represents a balance of interests and concessions, balanced removal of mutual anxieties, an interdependence of security interests.

Reykjavik not only gave rise to hopes. It also highlighted the difficulties on the road to a nuclear-free world. The conclusion drawn by a considerable part of the world public that the American "star wars" plans, the SDI programme, have become the main obstacle to agreement on the elimination of nuclear weapons is correct. This was fully confirmed at the Reykjavik meeting. The SDI programme is an attempt to gain military superiority, to find a way to wage a nuclear war in a bid to win it.

Historical experience shows that the U.S.S.R. has always found an adequate response to any threat to its security. This will be so in the future as well, for the Soviet Union has the intellectual, scientific, technical and industrial potential for this.

But the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. realizes that the appearance of space weapons, extending the arms race to an exceptionally costly and particularly dangerous sphere, will make it impossible for the politicians to control the march of events. A technical fault or mistake, a computer malfunction can trigger off an irreparable catastrophe.

The Soviet Union suggests a real alternative to an arms race in space: peaceful space exploration by the concerted efforts of all countries for the benefit and prosperity of all.

At this exceptionally important, perhaps decisive, moment in human history **the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. calls on all parliaments and peoples to take a resolute stand in favour of a practical start towards building a nuclear-free world and ensure all countries reliable, equal security.**

This task must take priority over all interstate disputes and ideological disagreements.

Nobody must be allowed to close the door to a nuclear-free future that was opened a crack in Reykjavik.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. solemnly declares that the U.S.S.R. is not withdrawing any of the proposals it made in Reykjavik to eliminate **all** nuclear systems. The Soviet delegation to the talks in Geneva has been instructed to abide by these proposals in their totality.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. confirms that the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, declared by the Soviet Union more than 15 months ago, remains in force. There is still time before January 1, 1987, for the United States to heed, at long last, the voice of reason, the demands of hundreds of millions of people the world over, and stop nuclear explosions. In that case, the U.S.S.R., too, would not resume nuclear testing. This would be a big step forward along the road to nuclear disarmament.

We stand as before for a ban on chemical weapons and the destruction of all the stocks of these weapons. We stand for strict compliance with the convention banning biological weapons. We stand for substantial cuts in conventional arms in Europe on the principle of equal security for the sides. The concrete, far-reaching proposals of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty countries on all these issues still remain, and we are waiting for a reply from the NATO countries.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is convinced that there is a place for every country in the common effort to deliver mankind from the nuclear burden. When the fate of civilization is at stake there are no big or small nations. This is something that concerns everyone and should be the concern of all.

The moment has come for everyone to take a definite stand in the face of the threat of space being made an arena of military rivalry. No government and no parliament can evade responsibility, inasmuch as what is at issue is the very existence of all countries, including their own country and people. There cannot and must not be any neutrals in this.

This message is also addressed to you by all Soviet people. Time is pressing. It calls for action.

(Pravda, November 20)

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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Solar radiotelescope in the Sayan Mountains.

Photo by G. Koposov

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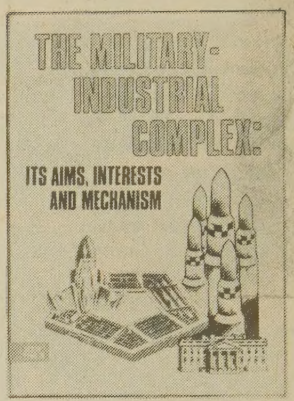

Neither military nor commercial secrecy can disguise that the U.S. leadership is too dependent on the military-industrial complex.

IS THE COMPLEX ALL-POWERFUL?

With this issue our subscribers will receive a free factual supplement

ANOTHER NUREMBERG?

Lev Bezymensky reflects on the lessons of the trial of forty years ago

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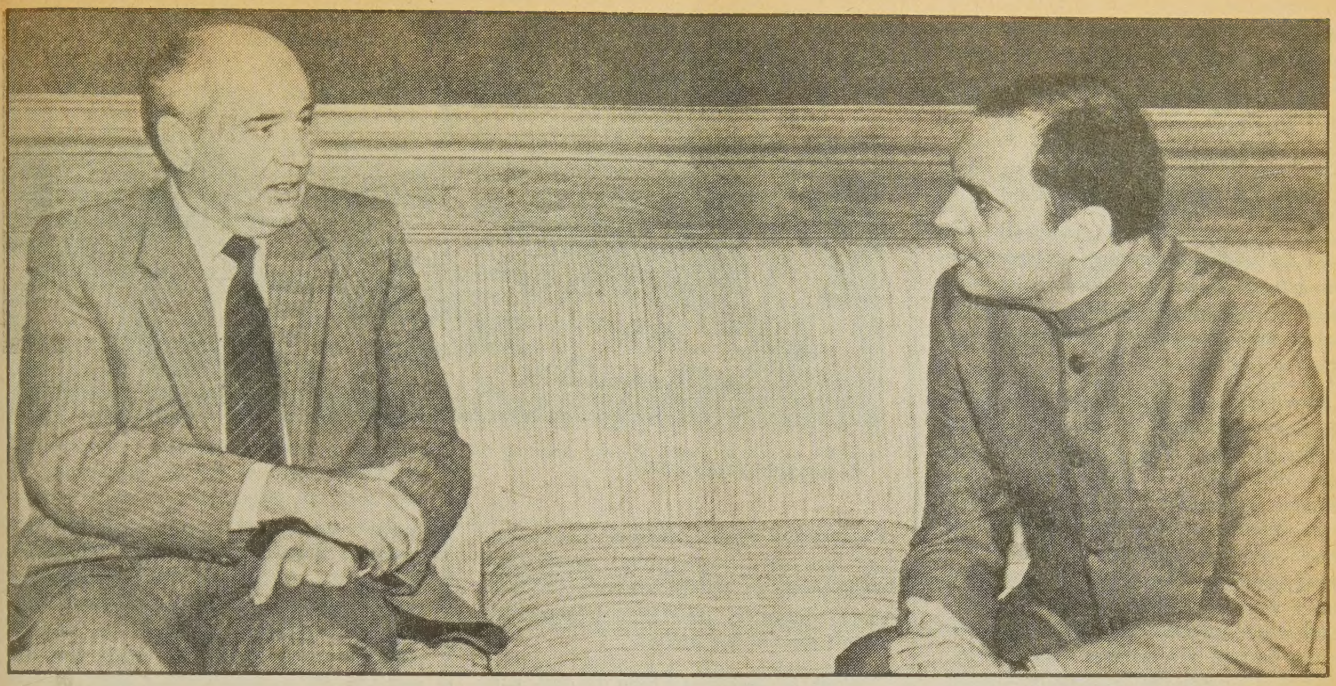


DIALOGUE IN DELHI BEGINS

Mr Prabakhar, Quartermaster General of the Indian Parliament, has little if anything to do with international politics. But early last October after he had ordered repairs to be made to the impressive Central Hall, where both Houses meet, local reporters took this strictly technical undertaking as an earnest of an extremely important political development to come. Joint sessions are only held when Parliament is addressed by a foreign leader to whom India wishes to give the highest honour. The newsmen arrived at the conclusion, therefore, that the rumours of a likely visit to India by Mikhail Gorbachev then circulating in the capital were well-founded and that preparations for the visit were already under way.

In fact, preparations had begun much earlier, and the Quartermaster General's effort was only a fraction of what both sides had done to get everything ready for the visit. The Soviet Union and India had exchanged more than twenty delegations over the past few months and weeks to compare notes on political matters, discuss questions of economic cooperation and study the prospects for trade. G.K. Reddi, the veteran Delhi columnist, stressed that on no previous occasion had the Indian capital prepared for summit talks so thoroughly and comprehensively.

Asked what he thought the distinguishing features of the present visit were, Yogesh Tewari, Chief of the East European Department of India's Foreign Ministry, replied: "Relations of mutual trust and understanding have been established between the leaders of our two countries. Both leaders are looking for innovations and radical reforms in their countries. We know that changes now in progress in the Soviet Union are to propel your country into a virtually new era. These progressive trends are being promoted by Mr Gorbachev. Without drawing any parallels between the situations in our two countries, I would like to note that our Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is also a bold reformer and wants to see India modernized. He is taking every measure to ensure that India enters the 21st century a new country.

"We in India," Mr Tewari went on, "are greatly impressed by Mr Gorbachev's vision of a world free of nuclear weapons. For its part, India is working vigorously for peace and disarmament—especially, nuclear disarmament. The two states, with a population of over a billion, working for a durable peace together and seeing eye to eye on key international issues are a factor to be reckoned with in international politics. To make this factor still more significant is a matter of great importance, especially now."

This is the key to what is, perhaps, the most important aspect of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to India, which is recognized worldwide as a leader of the non-aligned movement. Indeed, the visit takes place at a critical juncture when the U.S. and the West European NATO member countries are trying to revise the results of the Reykjavik summit and return to the cold war, with all the ensuing consequences. Here in India, as elsewhere, people pinned on Reykjavik hopes for a safer world, a world without mountains of deadly weapons and free from the threat of self-destruction. Hence the realization that whether the Soviet proposals for delivering the world from nuclear weapons by the year 2000 are fulfilled depends on the efforts and persistence of all states, whatever their geographical location. In any case, India, that great Asian country, is prepared to help achieve this noble objective, Romesh Bhandari, chief of the foreign affairs cell of the All-India Congress Committee, the governing body of the ruling Indian National Congress (I), assured us.

"Reagan's 'star wars,'" R. Bhandari said, "blocked the way to an epoch-making agreement in Reykjavik. Nevertheless, the historic Soviet proposals have not been removed from the agenda. This is a source of optimism for all nations, those in Asia included. The Soviet Union will have India's co-operation in its persistent efforts to

deliver the planet from the nuclear threat and prevent a nuclear holocaust."

The whole record of the two states' joint parallel actions for peace, and the Soviet-Indian Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation have laid firm groundwork for such cooperation.

This cooperation is promoted not only by the governments of our two countries but also by millions upon millions of Soviet and Indian citizens for whom the struggle for peace has become a vital cause.

Praveena, an eight-former from Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, has recently joined in this process. The 14-year-old girl sent this letter to Rajiv Gandhi and Mikhail Gorbachev: "If there is friendship everywhere like the friendship between our two countries, my dream will come true. We all want to go to school, study, play and live happily. We don't want our schools destroyed and our books burned in a terrible nuclear war." Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi replied to the Guntur schoolgirl, promising her that they would spare no effort so that Praveena and her generation grow up, study, live and do good on a peaceful planet.

The Soviet leadership's numerous peace bids are common knowledge. There is the well-known anti-nuclear initiative of the Delhi Six, India included. The aspirations of ordinary people for peace were symbolized on the American continent by Samantha Smith of the U.S. and on the European continent by Soviet schoolgirl Katya Lycheva. And now Praveena, an Indian schoolgirl, has joined them.

We live in one world. Trouble in any part of it has an effect on the others, said Mahatma Gandhi, the great Indian thinker and statesman. Viruses of unsettled territorial disputes, the bleeding ulcers of armed conflicts, the fever of the local arms race (imported from outside, in most cases)—such is the diagnosis of the current situation in the Asian-Pacific region, to which both India and the Soviet Union belong. In his

Connaught Place, Delhi.

Vladivostok speech Mikhail Gorbachev put forward a sweeping constructive programme to ensure security and promote mutually beneficial cooperation in this part of the planet.

What is Delhi's attitude to this programme? Yogesh Tewari stressed that the Vladivostok speech contains "very important points" now being given close study by the Indian government. In his opinion, the situation in the Asian-Pacific region is more complex than that in Europe. The region abounds in countries with ancient traditions which often do not see eye to eye; there are many local conflicts and territorial disputes of long standing. Nevertheless, he pointed out in conclusion, "we are optimistic on the whole."

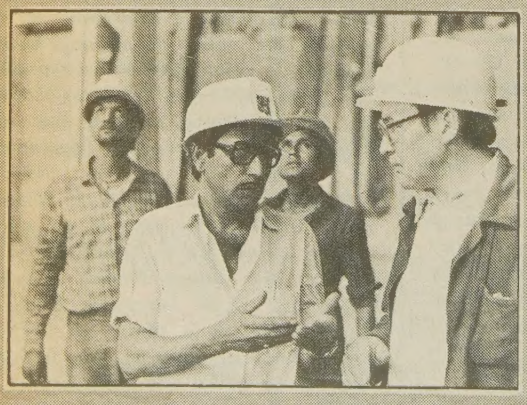
The Soviet Union realizes full well that building new international relations in Asia is no easy matter and will take a long time. It must be done, however, and as soon as possible. The Indian public is making great efforts in this direction. As Mikhail Gorbachev's visit approached, increasing numbers of conferences, seminars, symposia and round-table discussions were held in the capital and other cities, the subjects of which speak for themselves: "Reykjavik and Asia," "Nehru's Vision of Peace and Security in the Nuclear Age—The Asian Dimension," "'Star Wars'—An Asian Aspect." One of the discussions was attended by prominent public figure P.N. Haksar, a onetime political adviser to Indira Gandhi. Indian journalists have told us that he is a member of the special consultative group formed in connection with the Indian-Soviet summit. This lends extra weight to the views he shared with us concerning the importance of the Soviet leader's Vladivostok speech for Asia.

"The proposals by the CPSU General Secretary for safeguarding peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region should be viewed in the wider context of Soviet bids for universal peace and disarmament. Our region has also been drawn into the arms race. This makes it all the more important for the public opinion of India and other Asian and Pacific countries to start, as soon as possible, a frank and objective discussion of the problems of peace, security and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific."

It has not escaped our notice that certain quarters in India are fearful lest their country's support for the Vladivostok proposals should result in Delhi being led by Moscow.

"These fears are totally unfounded," P.N. Haksar said. "The Asian Relations Conference was held in Delhi in 1947 on the initiative of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. It was there that the idea of Asian countries making collective efforts to ensure their security and independence was put forward for the first time."

The Indian government is of the opinion that the zone of the seven countries, members of the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), established nearly a year ago, could become a factor for security and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific. The association includes: Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Republic of Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan



Soviet engineer A. Semyonov [right] and his Indian colleague S. Bhattacharya work in the open-hearth plant of the Bhilai Iron and Steel Works.

TASS photo

and Sri Lanka. SAARC met for its second summit conference in Bangalore, India, on November 16-17. In their Bangalore declaration the leaders of the seven South Asian countries called for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and, as a first step, for the earliest possible agreement on banning nuclear tests. They came out against outside interference in the region's affairs, which runs counter to the interests of peace and development in the zone in which the South Asian Seven are located.

It is just such outside interference that seriously aggravates the situation in the zone. The stream of U.S. arms deliveries to Pakistan, which is out of all proportion to the country's defence needs, continues. Recently, the U.S. announced plans to supply planes equipped with the AWACS early warning system to Pakistan. These planes will enable Islamabad (and not only Islamabad, as their crews will be American, to start with) to keep vast areas of Indian territory under observation. Word has come of an A-bomb detonator having been tested in Pakistan. All this is a source of growing concern to neighbouring India.

"The arrival of Mikhail Gorbachev in Delhi on November 25," Girish Mathur, a prominent journalist, told us, "is not just another goodwill visit. Against the background of current adverse developments in and outside India, including the unending attempts to dismember it, the visit is truly a landmark in the history of our relations with the Soviet Union. Friendship and cooperation with it have always been an earnest of India's independence in its relations with the West."

India has consolidated this independence largely by building up its national state-owned industry. The Soviet Union has been rendering India economic and technical assistance in this for three decades, beginning with Bhilai which was, as Indira Gandhi put it, "a symbol of our journey into self-sufficiency." More and more industrial installations emerging from Soviet-Indian cooperation are appearing on the map of India. They include ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy plants, heavy, power and mining engineering factories, electric power stations and opencast collieries, oil refineries, and so on.

Braham Dutt, Minister of Petroleum, told us about the progress made by one of the country's most important industries.

"Previously we had virtually no petroleum industry," he said. "Now we have one which meets two thirds of our domestic demand. A substantial contribution to its progress has been made by cooperation with the Soviet Union, which helps prospect for petroleum, sink boreholes and build oil refineries, of which we already have three. Soviet petroleum supplies are of great importance to us."

While in Bombay, we visited the Parikh Petro Chemicals Agencies company, which coordinates petroleum imports from the U.S.S.R. Sunil Parikh, its director, recalled that the first tankerful of diesel oil had arrived in Bombay from the Soviet Union in 1960. Since then, petroleum products and crude oil have been regularly supplied to the Indian Oil corporation, the biggest organization of India's public sector. Incidentally, it is accepted practice in Soviet-Indian trade to settle all accounts in rupees, which saves India its limited hard currency resources. No other country, the businessman told us, sold India oil on such terms.

"Does your company do profitable business?"

"It certainly does. And, moreover, we realize that close contacts with the U.S.S.R. promote our country's progress."

In the port of Bombay we saw the Soviet motorship Korsun-Shevchenkovsky which had come to pick up goods purchased by the Soviet Union from Indian firms. Indian stevedores were busy loading varicoloured containers onto its deck.

"What will you take home?" we asked Vitaly Savinkov, the first mate.

"Textiles, garments, dyes, medicines, perfumery. It will take us two weeks to get all this to Odessa," was the reply.

On the east coast of India we found another Soviet ship—the Babushkin universal dry-cargo carrier—lying alongside a berth in the port of Calcutta. It had already called at other East Indian ports—Madras and Vishakhapatnam, delivering various items of heavy equipment for a large integrated iron-and-steel mill under construction in Vishakhapatnam.

It was Sunday, and most of the motorship's crew had gone to the city to see a Soviet circus. Tickets were hard to get—they had been sold out in Calcutta long before the company's arrival. Those on duty operated deck-mounted cranes transferring what captain Mikhail Kudritsky described as "heavy large-size pieces" from the ship's holds to the berth. The "pieces" included metal structural members, machines and spares intended for the Vindhyachal thermal electric station, also being built with Soviet assistance, for the 400-km power transmission line for the Bokaro steel plant, now being expanded, and for the heavy engineering works in Ranchi.

Upon unloading, the Babushkin was to take on large consignments of tea (Calcutta is the tea capital of India), hessian and hardware of Indian manufacture, and then it too would head for Odessa.

The two-way traffic of goods between the U.S.S.R. and India is of tangible benefit to both partners. It is in our mutual interest to look for new areas and forms of economic, scientific and technological exchange, all the more so that certain imbalances sometimes occur in our export and import trade (due chiefly to a fall in oil prices).

This is why a trade protocol on the import by India in 1987 of some Soviet products it had never previously purchased was signed in Delhi in mid-November following thorough-going preparations. These products include chemicals and coking coal. The purchase of other goods is to increase.

India accorded Mikhail Gorbachev an extremely warm and hearty welcome. The Indians are certain that the new Indian-Soviet summit will further cooperation between our two nations in all spheres—political, trade, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and others. Indian political and public circles appreciate that the Soviet Union attaches signal importance to its relations with India, which have enormous intrinsic value and are immune to any fluctuations or attendant circumstances.

Alexander USVATOV
and Leonid ZHEGALOV
our special correspondents

Bombay-Calcutta-Delhi

There is no doubt that a continued dialogue here in Delhi will give still greater dynamism to multiform Soviet-Indian links and further enhance the role of interaction between our two great states as a factor in international politics and as a factor in peace and universal security.

From Mikhail Gorbachev's statement in Delhi

WE SEEK NO ONE-SIDED ADVANTAGE

Interview with Marshal SERGEI AKHROMEYEV

The Soviet Chief of General Staff replies to questions from the West German magazine Stern

The hopes pinned on the Reykjavik summit soon evaporated. The Americans continue to adhere to their SDI plans and reject proposals to end nuclear testing. Will the U.S.S.R. still abide by its disarmament initiatives?

Soviet moves to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons are fundamental to Soviet foreign policy, and we do not seek any one-sided advantage. In Reykjavik the U.S.S.R. offered concessions on a range of issues to get the U.S. to respond with its own concessions and embark upon real disarmament. However, in chasing after phantom superiority over the U.S.S.R. the U.S. killed possible accommodations in Reykjavik. The Soviet Union is convinced that the reduction followed by the elimination of nuclear weapons can be secured on the basis of parity and equal security.

Does this apply to a future administration or the Reagan Administration as well?

I am a military man, but you are asking a purely political question. The Soviet delegation is not having an easy time of it at its talks in Geneva with the representatives of the Reagan Administration. Nonetheless, we are not ruling out accommodation, though only on the basis of parity, provided the U.S. leadership agrees. A new administration will be taking over two years from now. For the time being we do not know what kind of policy it will conduct.

Which means you will not let the U.S. demoralize you?

Our policy has always been and will remain that set out at the 27th Congress of the CPSU. It is the Soviet Union's long-term policy in the effort for peace and nuclear disarmament.

Since Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary, the Soviet Union has withdrawn from many of its positions which had for many years blocked nuclear disarmament talks with the U.S. Is this possible with respect to SDI?

We never blocked negotiations. In the past we sought and secured accommodations with the U.S. based on equal security. Only reciprocal concessions enabled the two sides to secure such major agreements in the 1970s as the ABM treaty, the interim SALT-1 agreement and the SALT-2 treaty. The Soviet proposals put forward in Reykjavik made the radical reduction of nuclear armaments possible. But what did the U.S. offer in return? Nothing. When we offered concessions in the sphere of strategic nuclear weapons and medium-range missiles, the U.S. should have replied with concessions in the sphere of space armaments. SDI is a programme for developing and deploying strike weapons in space, which will drastically destabilize the world situation. Hence the U.S.S.R. cannot modify its attitude to SDI. We cannot end the arms race on earth and simultaneously start it in space.

Why does the Soviet Union hope that a global solution will be possible ten or twenty years from now, although so far the progress made on problems of disarmament has been rather modest?

I do not agree that the progress made has been "modest." After a military equilibrium was reached between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization in the early 1970s, the ABM and SALT treaties were signed, which impeded and curbed the arms race. Reykjavik further showed that agreements on a radical reduction of nuclear potentials are possible. What is unrealistic about our proposals? President Reagan agreed with Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to eliminate strategic nuclear weapons over a ten-year period. The only obstacle in the way was the U.S. "star wars" programme. All the peoples of the world, the Americans included, want to prevent an arms race in space. Only the military-industrial complex and influential reactionary forces in the U.S. ignore this.

Does that mean a stalemate?

If the U.S., in reply to the Soviet proposals and concessions on nuclear arms, fails to put forward any positive proposals and continues to escalate work on the SDI programme, I do not see any chance of making progress at the disarmament talks with the U.S. Today the ball is in the U.S. court.

The Soviet position is one of "all or nothing." But we might end up with "nothing." Is it not possible to discount SDI for the moment and advance consistently?

You are misstating our position. We reject the "all or nothing" principle. Our programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons has three phases, which means a gradual solution of the nuclear problem step by step. In Reykjavik, the Soviet Union was prepared to offer concessions of no mean order to secure a radical solution of the problem of nuclear disarmament. We proposed halving strategic offensive weapons without taking into account the U.S. forward-based nuclear potential as well as the complete elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe without taking into account the British and French nuclear arsenals. We

agreed to such a solution, which was not an easy one for us. The package of Soviet proposals, incorporating the total elimination of strategic offensive weapons and, accordingly, steps to consolidate the ABM treaty regime, as well as the elimination of medium-range missiles and a complete end to nuclear testing is a package of mutual interests and concessions. Were any of the proposals to be excluded from the Soviet package, the military equilibrium would be tilted in favour of NATO. The U.S. wants to take the concessions from our package and give nothing in return. We will not consent to that. The Soviet Union is prepared to discuss all the issues at negotiations, and work out accommodations, but their entry into force will be possible only if they are taken as one composite package. As Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, "if there is no package there will be no concessions."

Many think SDI will never be operative and is only a chess move by the Americans to achieve a greater gain.

You see, I am no scientist, I am a practical military man. Should a country undertake to build a national anti-missile system against a definite number of strategic warheads—say, 6,000—that system could perhaps be built with a certain degree of likelihood of living up to its mission. However, by taking appropriate measures, the other side could depreciate that system.

Some Western politicians regard Mikhail Gorbachev's disarmament proposals as evidence that only power politics can get the Soviet Union to negotiate.

That is a deliberate untruth, deliberate misinformation. The Reykjavik meeting was held on the Soviet initiative. The U.S. is responsible for blocking the agreements. Today the whole world sees who it was that really frustrated the accord in Reykjavik. The Americans want to develop and deploy strike weaponry in space in order to achieve military superiority over us. However, SDI will not help the U.S. to do that, for an appropriate response to its "star wars" programme will be forthcoming from the Soviet side.

What will that reply be?

Every educated person, without being a major military expert, will realize that no absolute weapon exists. Every measure has its countermeasure, and an appropriate system can be developed to any system. It is very hard, even impossible, to build a reliable national anti-missile defence system unless one knows what the prospective enemy intends to do: increase or qualitatively improve strategic armaments, use manoeuvring warheads or improve ways of protecting them. For unless agreement is reached to ban the deployment of a national ABM system, there will be no agreement either as concerns the reduction or some limitation of strategic offensive weapons. The U.S. Administration has experienced, educated people, and they apparently understand that. However, it evidently has other objectives, which do not permit it to abandon SDI.

You are doing research in the military use of space. How far have you advanced in this sphere?

We are not conducting any research to develop space-based ABM systems. We are carrying out work to improve missile attack warning systems, means of control, communications and navigation, and to develop a ground-based ABM system within the ABM treaty limits. We are implementing the ABM treaty fully and scrupulously.

How would you prove the view that SDI is really an offensive system?

Firstly, the weapons the SDI programme envisages—such as laser and beam weapons, electromagnetic guns and homing missiles—are strike weapons by means of which the U.S. hopes to destroy space-based nuclear missile strike warning craft in order to "blind" the other side, render it deaf and mute, catch it napping and deprive it of the possibility to retaliate to a nuclear attack. Secondly, with an operation range of 4,000-5,000 km, these weapons may destroy targets on land and sea. They enhance the strategic offensive potential and make it possible to deliver the first strike in the hope of remaining safe. For just that reason is SDI an offensive weapon.

Does that mean you are afraid of SDI?

No, we are not afraid. We have the potential for developing a reliable counter-means, which will be cheaper than SDI. You see where the U.S. is taking us? Towards an endless, unbridled arms race. Who needs that? The Soviet Union does not need it, nor do most of the world's other countries.

Why is the U.S. doing this?

The motive behind it is to use the arms race to keep the Soviet Union in a constant state of tension and prevent it from fulfilling its planned social and economic tasks.

Does not the Soviet Union fear that, through SDI research, the U.S. will gain a new technological impulse as happened after the Moon landing programme, and thus stride ahead beyond the U.S.S.R.'s reach?

There is no need of an arms race to achieve that. Did the Soviet Union ever oppose the Moon landing programme? At the time we simply followed another course. We shot at the Moon not manned vehicles, but automatic craft. Currently, in opposition to SDI, we propose international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space, which holds out great prospects for employing sophisticated technology both in space and on earth. We are ready to compete in peaceful space exploration and, equally, to cooperate in this field.

A question on a military subject. Can you say by what proportion the nuclear potential should be cut to completely offset chances of retaliation?

That's a tricky question.

Would a 10 or 20 per cent cut be enough?

Military experts dealing with this matter proceed from the quantities of weapons the sides have at their disposal today. However, after all, both sides have agreed to halve strategic offensive weapons. Apparently that would be enough to ensure security for both sides. As for lower figures, we should then speak of other systems: medium-range potential and American forward-based systems in Europe should necessarily also be reduced. Only thus would it be possible to guarantee equal security to both sides.

Yet even given the halving of potentials the nuclear danger is nevertheless still too great.

Of course. For which reason the Soviet Union proposes completely eliminating nuclear weapons.

You said that if SDI remains, there will in that case be no agreement on medium-range and short-range missiles. For Western Europe that is particularly unfortunate.

That is not quite true. I said that agreement on medium-range missiles could not be reached outside of the package, but I did not say that with regard to missiles with an operational range of up to 1,000 kilometres. If NATO accepts the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty states to begin negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, then it will be possible to discuss within the context of future negotiations the question of reducing operational tactical nuclear armament, by which we mean missiles with a range of up to 1,000 kilometres, carrier air-

craft of tactical aviation and nuclear artillery.

The Soviet Union has not conducted nuclear tests since August 1985. What will happen if the moratorium ends on January 1, 1987?

A nuclear test ban has two aspects—political and military. Politically our moratorium is the touchstone of the sincerity of one or other country as concerns disarmament. The U.S. Administration failed this test of political maturity. It is obstinately continuing with nuclear testing. However, nuclear tests are linked to the military equilibrium in the world.

What about the military aspect? Will the Soviet tests be resumed?

Since our moratorium was introduced, the U.S. has staged 23 nuclear explosions. Though it has not been easy for us to observe a moratorium for a year and a half, we understand the need for it as a political measure and are all of one mind about it. Analyzing U.S. actions, the military are doing everything necessary to keep our leadership informed of the situation and be able to assess it correctly. It is in the Soviet government's competence to decide how to act after January 1, 1987. If the U.S. were to discontinue its nuclear explosions our moratorium would continue. Any of our measures on disarmament, including the moratorium, has its limits, which derive from the security interests of the Soviet Union and its allies.

Disarmament implies confidence. But how can you have confidence if you traditionally make a secret even of population statistics?

When the matter is one of confidence, the Soviet Union furnishes all the information required. This was the case with regard to data for strategic armaments, medium-range means and missile launchings. As for SS-20 missiles, we made known not only the quantity, but also provided tactical characteristics. Hence, allegations as to Soviet secrecy in the military sphere are unfounded. As for other areas, including the economy, the information our press furnishes, our openness and disclosure of shortcomings and their causes likewise refute these allegations.

Last summer President Reagan secured congressional endorsement for the manufacture of a new chemical weapon. At the same time, while in Bonn a Soviet delegate at the Geneva talks said a complete ban on chemical weapons was supposedly possible before the end of this year. What is true here?

I cannot speak for what the U.S. government does. The U.S. evidently intends to open up one more channel for the arms race, a chemical one. We advocate the complete and general prohibition of chemical weapons, the elimination of available stocks of such weapons and the dismantling of facilities for their manufacture. Here we also support such intermediary moves as ridding the whole of Europe of chemical weapons, creating zones free of chemical weapons in Northern and Central Europe and the Balkans, and banning the transfer of chemical weapons and their deployment in the territories of other countries. Should the U.S. and other NATO countries wish it, it would be possible to conclude an appropriate convention as early as 1987.

Back to Reykjavik. Of course, that meeting was historic. Can it be repeated?

We think agreements are possible. All our efforts are directed towards that end. We have not budged an inch from the proposals we put forward in Reykjavik. However, the American side has abandoned much on which agreement had been reached. At the talks President Reagan agreed to having all Soviet and U.S. strategic weapons without exception eliminated over a ten-year period. Now the Americans say: no, ballistic missiles can be eliminated, but not intercontinental bombers and cruise missiles. What President Reagan said in Reykjavik was quite different.

Hence Reykjavik remains the point of departure for further advance?

The Soviet Union is of that opinion.

There is also the argument that Western Europe cannot be left defenceless in the face of the Warsaw Treaty states' military superiority in conventional armaments. France is saying that, for instance.

Why only France? There are also many politicians who support that view in the F.R.G. On that score I can say the following: that is not true, the intention is to deceive people. Militarily we have today in Europe an approximate balance in conventional armed forces and armaments.

Talks on this question have been going on in Vienna for ten years.

When the Vienna talks began—and they have now lasted thirteen years—the two sides evidently did not altogether correctly assess the situation and delineated a square of European territory. With regard to NATO, this meant the armed forces of the bloc stationed in the F.R.G., Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg; with regard to the other side, the armed forces of the G.D.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia and the Soviet troops stationed in that area. Today we have arrived at the conviction that it would apparently be easier to resolve the problem of cutting back on armed forces and armaments were we to consider the armed forces of the two sides across the whole of Europe, from the Urals to the Atlantic.

And now a question that does not have to do with troops and armaments. Would you not think it a pipe dream that we or our children should live to see a world without nuclear weapons?

Why call it a pipe dream? We Communists are not dreamers. We are realists. And we believe in the existence of a world without nuclear arms and are striving to achieve it. In the fifty years of my conscious life, public awareness has greatly advanced. The opinion of the peoples plays an immeasurably greater role than before. Eventually the peoples will compel the opponents of disarmament to reach agreement and end the nuclear arms race. However, there is the danger that before we reach that point, war may end everything. That is why we are striving so persistently for a world without nuclear arms.

At the talks there is no progress and the danger of a deterioration of the situation in the disarmament area has appeared. In December the U.S. plans to exceed the number of atomic bombers stipulated in the SALT-2 treaty by equipping the 131st B-52 bomber with nuclear cruise missiles. What will you do then?

What do you mean, what will we do? If the U.S. violates the SALT-2 treaty, then the Soviet Union is entitled to consider itself no longer bound by the treaty's commitments.

In that case the SALT-2 treaty will be invalid?

It is not a unilateral treaty. It is a bilateral one. If one side scraps it, it is no longer binding on the other side.

You advocate the elimination of all types of nuclear weapons. However, in the West it is asserted that it is necessary to maintain at least a small nuclear arsenal in case some mad statesman from a Third World country would threaten the superpowers with atomic weapons.

My reply will be extremely brief. That is merely an excuse by people who do not want to disarm and eliminate nuclear weapons. Were such powers as the U.S.S.R., the U.S., China, Britain and France to abolish their nuclear potentials, they would find the ways and means of persuading other countries to join them in the attainment of that high objective. ■

Will There Be Another Nuremberg?

LEV BEZYMENSKY

At a recent conference in Moscow devoted to the lessons of Nuremberg, and attended by scholars and public figures from more than 20 countries, an unexpected divergence arose between two positions. One, well-argued and convincing, position was that Nuremberg marked the juridical conclusion of the second world war. But, should a third, thermonuclear war break out, both the victims and the aggressors would perish. As one participant put it, there would be no one to try, no one to judge, and nowhere to hold the trial. An equally convincing and valid position was that the verdict of Nuremberg is still in force. So those who, contrary to the lessons of history, pursue a policy of aggression, racism and militarism should be brought to book. Ample evidence for such behaviour has been cited.

The two positions were not, however, mutually exclusive. Academician Vladimir Kudryavtsev, who chaired the discussion, pointed out that no one could wish another, "post-nuclear" Nuremberg. The surest way to avoid this is to struggle actively against the nuclear threat and unite the efforts of all countries in promoting peace, equal security and mutually beneficial cooperation. The principles and methods of Nuremberg could be invaluable in achieving this goal. In other words, there is no need to wait for a third world war to judge war criminals and their like.

For my own part I would wish to add: let us talk not only of a "second Nuremberg" but of the dangers of forgetting the "first" one.

■

Forty years have passed since then. We recall that no sooner had the Nuremberg trial ended than all the nazi scum rose up against it. However, the international community and its supreme forum—the United Nations—reaffirmed the principles of Nuremberg, which it has subsequently invoked on more than one occasion. Suffice it to mention the recent resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly calling for the punishment of nazi war criminals to be completed and condemning neofascism.

The core of Nuremberg, which continues to have historical relevance, was the thoroughly grounded condemnation of aggression. Though the prosecution and judges had little time (because the trial began several months after the Victory), they were able irrefutably to prove the crime of the aggressors. Nuremberg also exposed nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. **"It was plain aggression,"** read the indictment, which seemed to have put paid to Goebbels' version of the "preemptive" nature of the invasion launched on June 22, 1941.

Alas, it only seemed so. Reality has administered a lesson to the complacent. Over the past 40 years we have seen the nazi legends persist. We have often been told: don't worry, neonazism is not worth bothering about, nobody listens to the incorrigible, time heals all and the great Western democracy will produce a new generation that thinks in a different way.

And yet, forty years after the Nuremberg trial, it is not some stray neonazi but Dr Joachim Hoffmann, scientific director of the Bundeswehr's department of military history, the man responsible for the way military history is perceived by the officers and men of a leading NATO army, who printed an article in Frankfurter Allgemeine in which he makes the outrageous claim that Hitler's war against the U.S.S.R. was "preemptive." Furthermore, he cites some "Soviet publications and studies" to prove his claim.

A nazi fiction has been turned into an official Bundeswehr doctrine. It is not surprising that Dr Hoffmann feels happier with NATO's anti-communist ideology than with the truth of Nuremberg. Even though his subject is history his prime concern is to promote the legend of Soviet aggressiveness **today.**

But if the younger generation in the F.R.G. is exposed to such "truths" and, not having taken part in that aggressive war, it is not immune to them, the consequences could be tragic. In fact, some prominent representatives of the new generation seem to be proud to have been born after the war. We were born later, they say, and are not responsible for the mistakes of our fathers.

"There Will Be No One Left to Judge or Be Judged"

The date of one's birth cannot be changed. But it is humanly possible to raise subsequent generations on historical truth and its lessons—often bitter. As regards the attitudes of the new generation on the political scene in the F.R.G., there is a lot to think about. I am not now referring to irresponsible articles calling on the Bundeswehr to march East. Looking at some young "upper echelon" officials in Bonn one wonders how they can treat history and the crucial issues of today in such a cavalier fashion. We had reason to wonder 18 months ago, when Helmut Kohl and President Reagan demonstrated their "spiritual kinship" with the past by visiting the Bitburg cemetery where former SS men are buried. And think of the dramatic swing towards anti-communism in Helmut Kohl's party during the present election campaign. It speaks for itself.

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The word "revanchism" is disliked in Bonn, especially when it is used to describe certain phenomena in the political and social life of the Federal Republic. Frankly, we also dislike revanchism and we would be only too happy if there were no occasion to mention it. But our concern for the fate of peace in Europe makes us follow the demand of the prosecutors and judges at Nuremberg and talk about our worries which are not limited to European borders. For, apart from territorial claims, revanchism has other forms.

That is why we have watched with bewilderment and indignation the process of ideological conciliation with nazism and nazi aggression, a process which has now entered a qualitatively new phase in the F.R.G. As in

Act Before It Is Too Late

the case of Hoffmann, we are not speaking about the antics of neonazi propagandists or those SS men who are still at large. The initiators of the new stage in the rehabilitation of Hitlerism are respectable scholars, authors of many voluminous works on the history of nazism.

The new campaign proceeds along several lines and its roots go some way back. For a long time the rehabilitation of nazism followed this pattern: nazism is a "unique" phenomenon "uncharacteristic" of German history, a kind of deviation from the norm. The debacle of 1945 corrected this deviation and the F.R.G. returned to normal. This version was current for many years. Now a totally different method is used. We are told that nazism and its atrocities represent a phenomenon common to the history of Germany and the whole of Europe. Hitler merely made "technical improvements" in the methods of mass annihilation. And in general, the nazi period has to be seen objectively, for it was not wholly bad.

This new version alone is enough to make one sound the alarm, because it is used to pursue the same old goal that runs counter to the verdict of Nuremberg and common sense. It goes further than that and traces the atrocities and the sources of nazism to the October 1917 revolution in Russia, communism, the Soviet Union. This sensational discovery was made by professor Ernst Nolte who speaks of a "cause-and-effect relationship" and elaborates it in a series of publications which evoked a heated polemic.

When I first read these publications I was inclined to describe them as "theatre of the absurd" (or "science of the absurd"). Anyone at all familiar with European history would laugh if told that Hitler's programme to annihilate millions of people "had been prompted by the threat on the part of the Russian revolution," as Joachim Fest, the publisher of Frankfurter Allgemeine, claimed following Nolte. But what do people in the F.R.G. know about the Russian revolution? It is convenient and tempting to blame the Russians for everything.

However learned the arguments advanced by Nolte and like-minded people may seem, their meaning is the same: to justify nazism and its atrocities. Rudolf Augstein, the publisher of Der Spiegel, describes the goal of the campaign in the following way: "Hitler's crimes must be regarded as part of the crimes of all other ages so that we can become a state like any other.... We cannot be a decent member of NATO if they go on beating us on the head forty years later." The other goal of the campaign identified by Augstein is to prove that the F.R.G. is now on the "side of the righteous, namely, is thoughtlessly opposing Bolshevism."

Augstein is right. And following him I would like to draw attention to the profound "cause-and-effect relationship" between the new campaign and the overall situation in the F.R.G. and NATO. Leaving aside florid formulae, the fact remains that ideologists and historians are providing a justification for the general shift to the right that has long been manifest in politics, in the attitude to socialist countries, missile deployment and disarmament.

Egon Bahr, a prominent Social Democrat, once described the current period in F.R.G. history as the "post-Pershing era." Now it can be described as the "SDI era," because the F.R.G. has become the most zealous advocate of the American project. This means that the explanation and rationale for this era should be sought in the U.S., not the F.R.G. The U.S. Defence Secretary recently made a programmatic statement on principles for dealing with the Soviet Union. The first principle is rejection of the "moral equivalence" between the West and the Soviet Union. Hoffmann, Nolte and their ilk are trying to cast aspersions on the great moral authority the Soviet Union earned during and after the war. The need for such a psychological and propaganda operation for NATO is particularly great today, as the whole world is aware and appreciative of the moral strength of the Soviet position aimed at ridding the world of nuclear weapons by the beginning of the 21st century. This underlies the appeals to reject "moral equivalence" with the Soviet Union. What is offered instead amounts to "moral equivalence" with nazism. It is Bitburg, instead of Nuremberg, which are worlds apart.

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I sought the opinion of West German participants in the Moscow conference about the new campaign in the F.R.G. All are worried about the marked trend towards the hardening of conservative sentiments and the building of bridges between present F.R.G. policy and the nazi era. Professor Michael Stürmer, adviser to the Chancellor, believes that the United States "has unwittingly become heir to the German Reich." If this is true, then the Federal Republic, as a faithful ally of the U.S., has been elected to perform a similar role.

But let us not forget that the German Reich is gone. It ceased to exist during the battles of the spring of 1945, and its crimes were condemned in Nuremberg. Any attempts to rehabilitate and revive nazism run counter to law and common sense.

Of course, there would be no Nuremberg after a third world war. But this does not mean that those who today claim the role of "heirs to the Reich" can do so with impunity. It does not provide an absolution for today's aggressors, today's racists, and the people who want to revive nazism. We must remind people of the "first Nuremberg" daily and hourly. Remind them, and remember it ourselves. This preventive treatment can be of great help in the cause of maintaining peace. The judgement must take place before nuclear war. It will be too late afterwards.

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PHILIPPINES

Sharp Collision

● ON SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23, PHILIPPINES PRESIDENT CORAZON AQUINO WEATHERED WHAT FOREIGN NEWS ANALYSTS CONTEND HAS BEEN HER GRAVEST CRISIS IN THE NINE MONTHS SINCE SHE CAME TO POWER

At an emergency meeting of the cabinet, called in view of the gravely deteriorating situation, she proposed that its members resign. One of the first resignations accepted was that of National Defence Minister, Juan Ponce Enrile.

According to reports from Manila, Philippines Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Fidel Ramos announced in a broadcast that a "plot had been disclosed," involving supporters of ex-president Ferdinand Marcos and a group of army officers. He ordered a major alert in the armed forces and instructed the commanding officers of the military districts to obey only his orders. Troops now control all the capital's key strategic points. Security around the residence of the head of state has been reinforced. The chief of staff has declared that the armed forces fully support the President.

Since the beginning of November, shortly before Corazon Aquino went to Japan, rumours have been rife that a military putsch was in the offing in Manila. Gossip associated the likely coup with an influential ultra-right-wing grouping in the armed forces that had become more and more openly dissatisfied with the President's actions. In their view she was not firm enough in the drive against insurgents and was flirting with left-wingers. Defence Minister Enrile, who also served in that capacity for a long time during the Marcos presidency, laid similar charges at Corazon Aquino's door. His name was more and more frequently mentioned as one of the masterminds behind a likely coup.

Demonstration in Manila calling for the evacuation of U.S. military bases from the country. AFP-TASS photo

Many mass democratic organizations, political groups and trade unions openly opposed the schemes of the reactionary forces to subvert the administration's position, and announced that they would retaliate against any attempted military coup with mass protest action and strikes.

Analyzing events in the Philippines, the Japanese newspaper Asahi reports that the military wanted the President to sack several left-wing ministers and take a tougher stand in negotiations with insurgents. According to Newsweek, a group of army officers sought to take over the country and make Corazon Aquino a figurehead president. The idea was to invest Enrile with the powers of administrative chief. The military are reported to have actually presented Corazon Aquino with an ultimatum.

The November 13 killing of trade union leader Rolando Olalia and the tempestuous events that followed, including barely veiled preparations being made by the putschists in the armed forces for a coup, indicated, in the view of foreign observers, the sharp polarization of the conflicting forces. The political exchange of figures exercise that President Corazon Aquino effected to defuse the situation and win time for a new compromise will, Asahi believes, serve to enhance the influence of the generals, especially General Ramos, on government policy.

In the view of the Japanese newspaper Sankei Shimbun, "U.S. influence is felt" behind many of the events in the Philippines in this difficult period. Manila newspapers report that only recently a group of White House, CIA and Pentagon VIPs arrived from the U.S. under aliases to influence the political situation in the country. Another arrival was that of General John Singlaub, one of the chiefs of the World Anti-Communist League, an expert in subversive operations, named recently as being involved in training contra bandit formations and infiltrating them into Nicaragua.

In what direction do Washington's emissaries wish to channel events? Part of the answer is furnished by the recent pronouncements of legislators on the Capitol Hill closely associated with the Reagan Administration, whose hackles rose at Filipino intentions to introduce provisos into the new constitution at present being drafted on the archipelago's nuclear-free status as well as a modified procedure for extending the term of the presence of U.S. military bases. The Washington lawgivers believe that these provisos, should the constitution be adopted, could, following New Zealand's "infectious example," imperil the U.S. military presence in the archipelago. During Corazon Aquino's U.S. visit in September, spokesmen for the U.S. Administration and military-industrial complex voiced outright dissatisfaction with the actions of the Filipino leadership and, more specifically, called for more resolute action against the insurgents and for measures to curtail strikes by working people against the dominion of foreign capital and to counter the consolidation of left-wing forces.

Many news analysts believe President Corazon Aquino has merely won a "breathing space" with the cabinet reshuffle and Enrile's resignation. Though the crisis has passed its peak, the tension, on the whole, remains. The collision course continues.

A. PETROV

BRAZIL

After the Elections

● THE RECENT DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN BRAZIL WERE THE FIRST TO

BE HELD AFTER TWO DECADES OF AUTHORITARIAN RULE BY THE GENERALS.

The elections were a clear victory for the Democratic Alliance, a coalition of the Brazil Democratic Movement and the Liberal Front, which has been in government since March 1985. The coalition won the absolute majority in the National Constituent Assembly and gubernatorial posts in all 23 states.

This result, achieved in a climate of bitter political struggle, is evidence of the consistent striving of the Brazilian people for the further development of democracy, without which it is impossible to resolve the many social and economic problems bedevilling the country. For the first time in many years the Brazilian Communist Party took part officially in the elections, in some districts independently and in others in a bloc with the political parties that share its conviction that the key issue at present is the democratization of the country.

The success scored by the coalition is due primarily to the resolute and highly effective economic measures taken by the government. Yet the task facing it was by no means easy. At the beginning of 1985, when the military dictatorship ended, the country was in the grip of crisis. In this situation, aggravated to the extreme by heavy pressure from the transnationals, the U.S. monopolies and the IMF, something drastic had to be done. If only because inflation was running at the rate of 250 per cent and might well climb to 1,000 per cent threatening the country with economic chaos and social explosions. It was imperative to act boldly and quickly. On February 28, 1986, President Sarney announced an economic reform which came to be known as the Cruzado plan. Its chief purpose was to combat inflation. The cruzeiro, which had been devalued under the generals, was replaced by a new monetary unit—the cruzado—at the rate of 1:1000. The old practice of adjusting wages to prices, when the former always lagged behind the latter, was abolished. Prices were frozen, and the public was enjoined to help control prices by checking the figure on the price tags against official price lists circulated to customers. This alone highlights the democratic character of the reform.

The Cruzado plan was an unqualified success. Inflation now stands at 10 per cent. Speculation has been sharply restricted. The new currency is stable and reliable. Conditions have been created for serious economic planning which has made it possible to curb the sway of the local and foreign monopolies. To a certain extent the changes have affected the social sphere as well. For example, unemployment has substantially diminished. "We have thus blasted the myth that civilian regimes in Latin America are always weak and incapable of coping with economic crises," President Sarney has said.

In this sense the present evolution in Brazil has a significance not only for that country. Having taken their destiny into their own hands, the Brazilians have, as it were, demonstrated to their neighbours on the continent that independence in the choice of a path of development, of priorities, and of ways and means of resolving national problems is an earnest of success. For it is this that enables Brazil to pursue an independent foreign policy. "The new Republic," as the Brazilians call their country, firmly resists U.S. attempts to impose on it an economic development policy suiting Washington's interests.

Brazil today is taking an increasingly active position on the world arena. Its participation in the support group of the Contadora process aimed against U.S. interference in Central America, and primarily in Nicaragua, its energetic efforts to make the Southern Atlantic a nuclear-free zone, its harsh economic sanctions against South Africa have already earned it considerable prestige. Soviet-Brazilian relations in diverse fields are developing dynamically, and a significant and fruitful political dialogue between the two countries is in progress.

In 1987 the National Constituent Assembly will announce a new Constitution which will seal the democratic changes and determine the prospects for the future.

V. TSOPPI

AUSTRIA

Grand Coalition

● THE GENERAL ELECTION AND THE NEW POLITICAL LINE-UP.

The Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ), which has headed the national government since 1970, lost heavily, winning only 80 seats, or ten fewer than at the last general election. Nevertheless, as it is still the largest single party in parliament, its leader, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, has the right to take the initiative in forming the new cabinet.

Though it entertained great hopes, the major opposition Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) lost five seats, retaining a mere 76.

Instead of its previous 12 seats, the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), recently headed by ultra-right-winger Jörg Haider, will now have 18 seats. Under its new leader the party openly advocates nationalism and pan-germanism.

Another noteworthy result is that the Greens will for the first time have nine seats in Austria's Nationalrat, which means they will be able to table their own bills.

To all appearances, the political weatherglass indicates a "grand coalition," as all the conditions for one exist. Even during the election campaign, SPÖ leader Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and ÖVP head Alois Mock intimated unequivocally that they would not be averse to an alliance. Businessmen and trade union leaders likewise favour a coalition. According to the latest public opinion polls, some 70 per cent of the electorate support the idea.

The question at issue, however, is what a new SPÖ-ÖVP government will do. The national economy is fraught with problems, unemployment is rising, and growing numbers of small- and medium-sized firms are facing bankruptcy. Big Business is stepping up pressure on the public sector and looking to conservatives in the cabinet for effective backing. In short, prospects seem fairly bleak.

As for foreign policy, there is every ground to presume that the new government will continue with its constructive course in the international arena, and worthily contribute to the consolidation of peace, mutually advantageous cooperation, and East-West dialogue. It has a mandate to that effect by virtue of the neutrality law and the State Treaty reestablishing independent and democratic Austria which, incidentally, were cosponsored by the SPÖ and ÖVP in 1955.

A. KOVRIGIN

Milestones of Development

On November 29 Albania observed the 42nd anniversary of its liberation from the fascists and the victory of the people's revolution

Albania's road to freedom and people's power was a thorny one. One of the first victims of fascist aggression, it experienced all the hardships first of Italian and then of nazi occupation. The hopes and aspirations of the Albanian patriots who rose to the liberation struggle, headed by the Communist Party founded in November 1941, were associated with the Soviet Union which had borne the brunt of the confrontation with fascism.

Twenty-eight thousand sons and daughters of the Albanian people laid down their lives in the battles against foreign invaders for freedom and independence. The new, people's Albania that was born in the crucible of that struggle established friendly relations with the Soviet Union. This was the natural sequel to the brotherhood-in-arms formed during the war years. It was the Soviet offensive in the Balkans in the autumn of 1944 that was decisive in laying the groundwork for the successful operations of the Albanian National Liberation Army which ended in the total defeat of the enemy and the victory of the people's democratic revolution.

The Soviet people hailed that victory. The friendship between the Soviet and Albanian people, which was cemented during the years of joint struggle against fascism, found expression in the close and fruitful ties between our two countries in the postwar period. That friendship helped in the establishment and the strengthening of the people's democratic system in Albania, its advance along the road of socialist transformations and the consolidation of the young republic's positions on the international arena.

Drawing on the cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in every sphere, Albania was able within a historically brief space of time to make substantial social and economic headway.

Today, too, Soviet people view with warm sympathy and understanding the efforts the Albanian working people, led by the Party of Labour, are exerting in the sphere of socialist construction.

The Ninth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour, held recently, noted that in the seventh five-year period (1981-85) the gross public product had increased by about 19 per cent, the national income by more than 16 per cent, industrial output by 27 per cent and agricultural output by 13 per cent. More than 300 industrial enterprises and establishments of social and cultural nature had been built. The housing fund for that period had increased faster than the rate of growth of the population.

Directives for the eighth five-year economic and cultural development programme (1986-90), adopted by the congress, provide for an increase of 31-33 per cent in the gross public product, the national income is to increase by 35-37 per cent, industrial output by 29-31 per cent, and agricultural output by 35-37 per cent. Fulfilment of the targets of the five-year plan is associated with certain structural changes in the economy.

In foreign policy the People's Socialist Republic of Albania stands for peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, normal development of interstate relations with European socialist states. At the same time the congress did not introduce any change in the republic's position with regard to the Soviet Union.

The absence of normal relations with Albania is a chronic problem burdened by accretions of the past. No small role here was played by elements of subjectivism and voluntarism manifested at one time in the approach to differences on ideological issues and a number of international problems.

Time has shown that neither side gains by estrangement. The U.S.S.R. is against carrying ideological differences over into the sphere of interstate relations and is ready actively to help remove the obstacles in the way of the normalization of relations with Albania.

The period of fruitful cooperation that existed between our countries is remembered and valued in the Soviet Union, and we are convinced that restoration of such cooperation on the principles of strict equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, as well as mutual benefit, would accord with the aspirations and interests of our peoples and serve the cause of peace and socialism.

N. YURCHENKO

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

ATEF MOHAMMED NAGIB SIDKI

On November 9, 1986, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt asked Atef Mohammed Nagib Sidki to form a new government. On November 12 the new cabinet was sworn in.

Atef Mohammed Nagib Sidki, appointed Prime Minister on November 9, was born in 1930. In 1951 he graduated from the law department of Cairo University and later completed a post-graduate course in Paris in economics with a doctor's degree.

After completing his studies, he lectured for many years at the law department of Cairo University.

In 1973-75 he was cultural counsellor at the Egyptian embassy in France.

In 1975 he became secretary of the Arab Socialist Union on economic affairs.

In 1980 he was appointed chairman of the financial and economic commission of the consultative council of Egypt.

He was head of the Central Auditing Agency from 1981 to 1986.

Atef Mohammed Nagib Sidki is the author of a number of works on economics and finance.

The State and the "Private Operator"

The Law on Individual Labour adopted by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on November 19 is the subject of the conversation printed below between Sergei Golyakov, New Times political analyst, and LEONID KOSTIN, First Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Labour and Social Affairs.

First of all, let us agree on terminology. What exactly is meant by individual labour? Does it have anything to do with private enterprise?

The new law contains clear-cut provisions on that score. Individual labour is based solely on the personal work of citizens without the use of hired labour. This rules out exploitation of man by man.

In the Soviet Union, all citizens are guaranteed the right to work in the state or collective farm-cooperative sector. We usually say that in this country it is not a question of people chasing jobs but rather of jobs chasing people. Where does individual enterprise come into the picture?

Citizens can engage in individual labour. Article 17 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. permits individual labour in handicrafts, farming, the provision of services for the public and other forms of activity based exclusively on the personal work of individual citizens and members of their families.

What, then, prompted the adoption of the new law?

Up to now, self-employed labour has not been sufficiently used in the public interest. The potential of such groups of the population as housewives, students, and other citizens has not been sufficiently tapped. Furthermore, at present transactions with individual workers bypass the state. Self-employed labour is usually undeclared and the incomes accruing from it are untaxed. The range of such occupations is limited. At present there are 84,000 registered craftsmen working in the economy. Most of them are old-age pensioners, and more than half of them work in the manufacture and repair of clothes and shoes, and the production of haberdashery and knitted and embroidered articles. They account for a very modest share of the total volume of goods and services produced in society.

There is yet another consideration. At various times administrative and financial bodies sought to restrict individual labour. The restrictive measures thus imposed have discouraged many people from going in for it. Official attitudes to this kind of activity have been revised several times. Following the adoption of the law on unearned income, some people feared that another administrative extreme might make them punishable on that count as well.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has declared in no uncertain terms that while preventing unearned income one should not castigate those who earn extra income by honest work. Moreover, the state will contribute to the development of various facilities to help meet the demand of the population for goods and services.

Does the new law meet that challenge?

Undoubtedly. Its main idea is that self-employed labour must help meet the population's demand for goods and services more fully. By the same token, it is expected to help tap existing labour potential by employing citizens who for one reason or another are not engaged in the economy, and make it possible for people to earn additional incomes. I should like to stress that the new law is in line with the strategy of accelerating the country's social and economic development, restructuring its economy and clearing the backlog of problems accumulated over the years. It provides that individual labour be encouraged and combined more fully with the principles of socialist economic management. In drawing up this law, we have borrowed from the experience of other socialist countries. We have collected and taken into account suggestions and wishes published in our press. The drafting took place in a very open atmosphere. The draft was discussed in more than 160 work collectives in different republics, territories and regions.

The new legislation bears the imprint of new thinking, the wish to act in a contemporary way and cast aside stereotypes in tackling urgent problems.

The 27th Congress assigned high priority to raising living standards to a qualitatively new stage by saturating the market with various goods and services. Isn't this a task for state and cooperative organizations and enterprises?

Certainly. They will be the main force in expanding the output of consumer goods, consolidating the material and technical basis for this, improving the quality of goods, and bridging the gap between demand and supply. It would be wrong, however, to neglect the potential and resources that large-scale production cannot fully utilize. Among such resources is individual labour, especially in the service sphere.

Demand for such services is constantly growing. Ever more Soviet people move to new flats and are allotted garden plots; the sales of household appliances, garments, and footwear keep mounting from year to year. Hence the constant need for everyday services. Although the volume of such services has more than trebled in the last 15 years, and the number of service enterprises has approached 300,000, supply still lags behind demand in this sphere. Moreover, these services leave much to be desired as regards quality and efficiency. Even in Moscow there are still problems in having custom-made furniture and shoes repaired or manufactured and new apartments properly fitted.

In such situations, the figure of the notorious "private operator" appears.

In the services sphere he has long exhibited flexibility, efficiency, good workmanship, prompt response to shifts in market demand, and an ability to cater to client's individual needs. What is the point of opposing such

private individuals to government organizations? After all, in both cases a socially necessary result is achieved. The problem is how to regulate self-employed labour and place it within the framework of the law. We are now coming to grips with this problem. The new law creates a firm legal basis for the pursuit of such activities, thus realizing the citizens' constitutional rights.

In other words, the honest self-employed operator will be fully legalized!

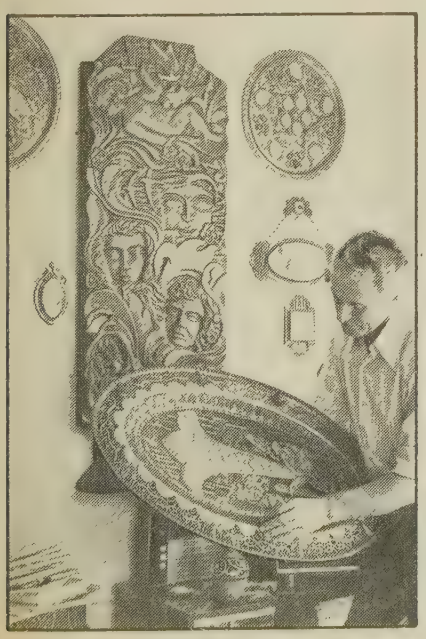
The law protects his interests and the interests of society as a whole. State regulation is still required. Moreover, proceeding from the principle of social justice, the law makes the income of a self-employed operator dependent on the amount of individual effort. Work and revenue should be closely correlated. A private operator is not allowed to hire labour, derive unearned income or damage the public interest in any other way.

Proceeding from Article 17 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the purpose and types of individual labour have been defined, as well as the categories of citizens who are permitted to engage in it, their rights and duties and the procedure for the pursuit of this activity.

Corresponding obligations devolve on the authorities, state enterprises, institutions and organizations. They must help citizens engaging in individual labour to buy raw and other materials, instruments, and other goods, market their products, rent vacant premises, and other property, and provide the necessary information.

The new law aims, among other things, at encouraging arts and crafts.

TASS photo



The law on individual labour was adopted by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet unanimously and without any amendments. This has led some Western critics to assert that our members of parliament do not bother to study the substance of the legislation they adopt.

They study it very thoroughly. The adoption of a law is the culmination of prolonged and intensive effort by deputies over the draft during the preliminary stages. On this occasion, too, the two chambers of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—set up a joint preparatory commission with a working group to draft the law. Along with the deputies, it included top experts in various fields of the economy, science and law. I was among these experts.

The initial draft, prepared in less than a month, was sent out to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet, the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets, and the Councils of Ministers of all the Union republics. It was also discussed by the legislative proposals commissions of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet and by Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the U.S.S.R.

No one questioned the economic and social importance of the new law, but many remarks and proposals were made.

What specific recommendations came from the deputies?

Some recommendations were aimed at relieving self-employed labour from too much regulation on the part of the all-Union bodies, and at giving a greater say to the Union republics and the local Soviets of People's Deputies.

Recommendations were made concerning the list of types of individual labour permitted or prohibited. Most proposals were aimed at extending the list of allowed types of individual labour proceeding from existing practices and the need to more fully meet the population's demand for goods and services.

Some recommendations applied to the wording of the law and were aimed at eliminating ambiguities, at making it clearer and more comprehensible.

How were these suggestions realized in the final text of the law?

All the recommendations made by the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. have been carefully studied by the working group of the deputies' preparatory commission and the legislative proposals commissions of the two chambers. Proceeding from these recommendations, the commissions have suggested adding to the law some provisions.

A provision was added to Article 5 of the law which stipulates credits to individual workers. A clause was added to the effect that assistance in practising individual labour shall go, first and foremost, to those citizens who have concluded agreements on such activity with state enterprises, institutions and organizations.

The law also offers certain privileges to war and labour veterans, invalids and some other categories of people.

According to suggestions put forward by deputies, the list of services individual workers can offer has been expanded. They are now allowed to take part in the construction, repair, and outfitting of dwellings, country houses, garages, and other structures. They can take part in the development of privately used plots of land, and car owners are allowed to offer car services, and so on.

In all, the law specifies more than 30 of the most common types of production and services in which individual enterprise is permitted. Local authorities, however, have the right to extend this list according to public demand.

Which proposals and amendments were rejected?

There were some. For example, the working group turned down a proposal put forward by one deputy to allow individual labour from the age of 14. This runs counter to our labour legislation.

My final question is: why will the new law come into effect only on May 1 next year?

Obviously, implementing the new law will require a certain amount of effort at many levels of the administrative apparatus aimed at organizing and supervising individual enterprise. Thorough preparation is needed. The necessary legislation specifying the procedure for the application of the new law is to be drawn up by the executive committees of the local Soviets of People's Deputies and the ministries and departments concerned. This, too, will take time.

■

The greatest philosophers argued that wars would only end when people had mastered the most sophisticated means of annihilation and realized that any armed conflict between states would be suicidal. I think we have already reached a technological level that makes all talk of disarmament foolish and futile. Each new advance in weaponry makes war less and less possible. Let me explain. Suppose several sworn enemies gathered in one room are armed with knives, pistols and grenades capable of blasting the whole house. Is a fight between them possible? I am sure the answer is No. Take away the grenades and the situation changes: there is a chance of surviving, and a fight could break out at any moment. A similar situation has taken shape on our planet. If our country genuinely wants peace it must dismantle all nuclear weapons, leaving only a small number in its territory as stationary mines.

V. VASHKEVICH
Riga, U.S.S.R.

POLEMICS

Weapons and Delusions

It is a good thing to speak one's mind. However, the categorical nature of your judgements makes me take up my pen. For instance, you oppose the abolition of nuclear weapons because you think they are safeguards of peace. This is a very common misconception. In the West, many politicians consciously promote such an attitude to nuclear weapons, and to weapons of mass destruction in general, thus justifying their reluctance to carry out nuclear disarmament. In general, you seem to consider disarmament a shortsighted if widespread view and you cite the opinions of philosophers whom you choose not to name.

Let me speak up in defence of the thinkers. It is true that Engels and Lenin predicted that military technology could reach a level that would make it a threat to the existence of human society and render meaningless the classic Clausewitz formula to the effect that war is the continuation of politics by other means.

A war in which even part of the existing nuclear arsenal is used would truly result in the survivors envying the dead. Such a war cannot be regarded as a rational means of achieving political ends. But the conclusion you draw from this is that the abolition of nuclear weapons increases the threat of war, which makes "all talk of disarmament foolish and futile."

I cannot go along with this. And I am happy to say that I am not alone in feeling this way. I think we should heed the alarmed warnings of such philosophers as, for example, Einstein and Russell, who urged the need for a drastic change in our thinking in the atomic era and called for a ban on, and the elimination of, nuclear weapons.

The nuclear weapon would not of itself prevent a world conflict. I do not believe NATO leaders are sincere when they say that Europe owes its four peaceful decades to nuclear weapons.

What I do believe is that many factors have helped preserve peace in Europe. Chief of these is the common sense of political leaders, their sober assessment of the real balance of forces, including the overall military balance. A third world war on the scale of the two preceding ones which have occurred in this century would inevitably devastate Europe, even if nuclear weapons were not used. Fortunately, these bitter historic lessons have not been lost on mankind.

However, the rapid progress of military technology should not breed any illusions. They say that when Nobel invented dynamite he was so awed by its destructive force that he predicted it would put an end to all wars. The same was asserted when the machine gun was invented. Weapons, however formidable and mutually destructive, cannot deter an adventurist. Having unleashed a war, he may not use the weapon, at least not at once. You will remember that Hitler did not risk using chemical weapons, but their existence did not deter him from aggression.

Or take the late 1940s and the 1950s. General MacArthur of the United States sought the President's sanction to use the atomic bomb in the Korean war. Several years later, when the French colonialists were suffering defeat in Vietnam, the Pentagon generals again contemplated using the atomic weapon. Detailed plans for the atomic bombing of Soviet cities have been drawn up in the past. These plans were never put into effect. American leaders realized that the use of nuclear weapons would be counterproductive. The gains did not seem commensurate with the losses, particularly political losses, even at a time when the U.S.S.R. had no capacity to retaliate with a nuclear strike at U.S. territory.

When the Soviet Union achieved parity with the U.S. and the West, it eliminated the material basis for political blackmail with regard to the U.S.S.R., its allies and other peoples, especially young states. And yet nuclear parity does not rid the earth of the threat of nuclear war.

Countless scenarios for a nuclear exchange between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have been developed on the other side of the Atlantic. Countless scenarios for the escalation of the conflict by "surgical" strikes at vital targets inside Soviet territory have been thought up and played out on computers. You will have noticed that the West stubbornly refuses to follow our example and undertake a no-first-strike commitment.

And in reply to this, you are suggesting that we should prove our peaceful intent by replacing strategic weapons with weapons of suicide and planting nuclear "stationary mines" on Soviet soil, so that if we burn we all burn together. It is how fanta in terms o it holds n mon sense You bel of Americ I don't. moved by our part? by far mo proofs of about a d national c that the P ly start thi ize our "n at gunpoi ready doi gan's SDI not hypoth Soviet mis system of blinding u

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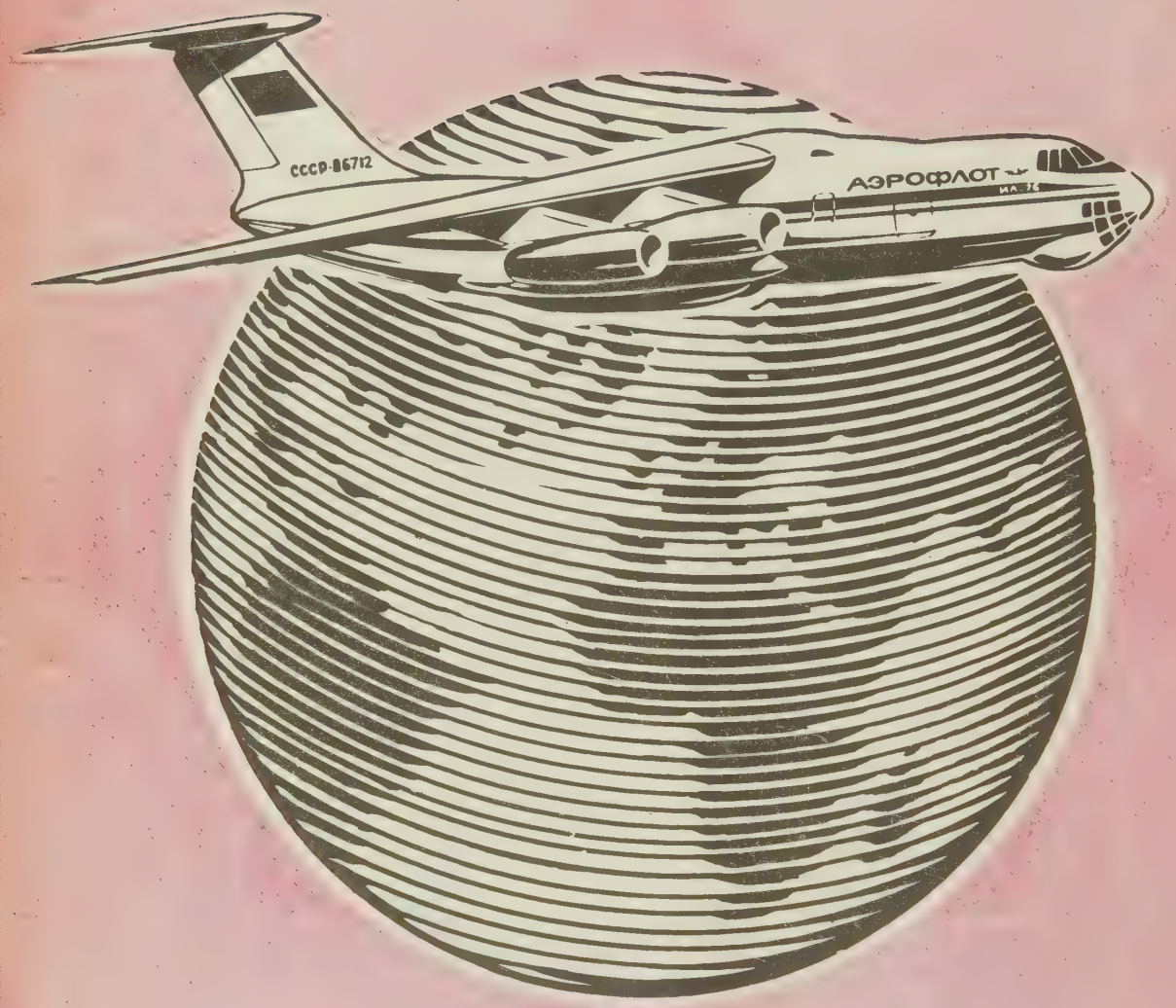

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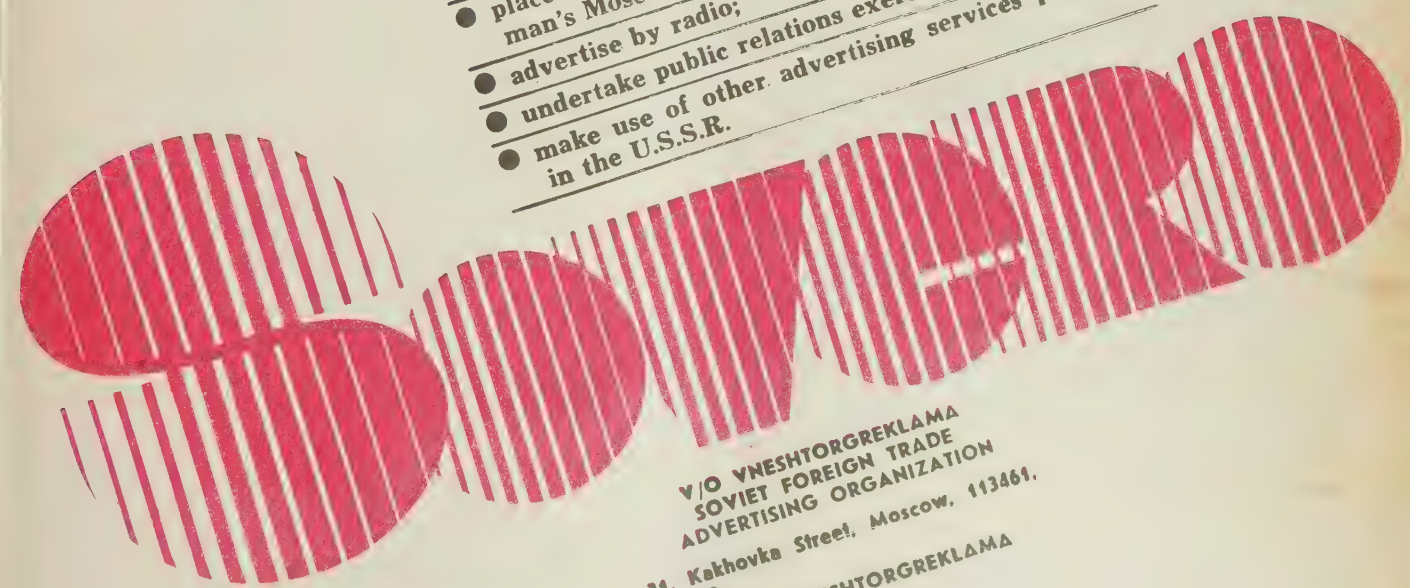

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when he said that new means of total extermination should be nipped in the bud.

In other words, the answer is not to develop the new weapons or preserve nuclear weapons, but to disarm. The abolition of nuclear weapons would not erase memories of their danger or the secrets of their manufacture. The danger of a return to a nuclear world would in itself be a deterrent.

You have chosen a good metaphor in placing "sworn enemies" under one roof and arming them with knives, pistols and grenades. I presume that the grenades in this case are comparable with the atom bomb or something of the sort. If the grenades are taken away, you say, there will be a fight.

In the first place, unlike you, I do not believe in the incorrigible bellicosity of human beings. Secondly, there is little point in starting a philosophical discussion as to which is better and "more humane"—pistols, or atom bombs. Both are murder weapons. But neither pistols nor even submachine guns can destroy the whole of mankind. Therefore disarmament must begin with the deadliest weapons—nuclear. We must work for their reduction and later for their complete elimination. Nor should the weapons which are usually considered conventional, but which are becoming increasingly formidable, be forgotten. Chemical weapons, too, must be abolished as soon as possible.

I do not think there is any need for a scholastic debate about whether universal disarmament is possible or not. Even partial progress in this direction, whatever you say, would be all to the good. And in a climate of détente and confidence there would be no reaching for the gun.

I strongly advise you to study the proposals of Mikhail Gorbachev, think about the ideas advanced by the Delhi Six and the Palme commission. Our magazine gives regular coverage to all this. These proposals are by no means utopian. The realization of these projects is, in this nuclear age, a safeguard against raving maniacs and suicides.

A. LEBEDEV
associate editor

FOLLOW-UP

JOURNEY INTO THE 21st CENTURY

The excerpts from school compositions given below were sent to us by Wolfgang Selzer, a history and social science teacher at the Manfred Stern high school in the G.D.R. After reading about our symposium "Journey into the 21st Century" (New Times No. 28/86) he asked his pupils to write a composition on the subject of what the 21st century would be like if the Soviet nuclear disarmament plan were to be carried into effect. Here are some of their ideas on the subject.

Children Must Not Die

Disarmament would make it possible to solve one very important problem—the problem of hunger. All the money now being spent on developing new types of weapons could be used for this purpose. Children must not die of hunger and disease. They must go to school and enjoy life. If there were no wars the conditions could be created for substantial progress in science and technology. After all, scientists would be working exclusively for peace. Therefore everything must be done to support the U.S.S.R. in its fight for peace.

Nicoli GÜTH
7th form

People Will Learn to Help Each Other

I believe that in the 21st century woman will no longer hesitate to bring a child into the world because children will not be threatened with death by nuclear bombs. Mothers must be happy and stop worrying about the future. People in the next century will live in peace and friendship, they will learn to help one another and do everything to prevent our Earth from becoming a lifeless star.

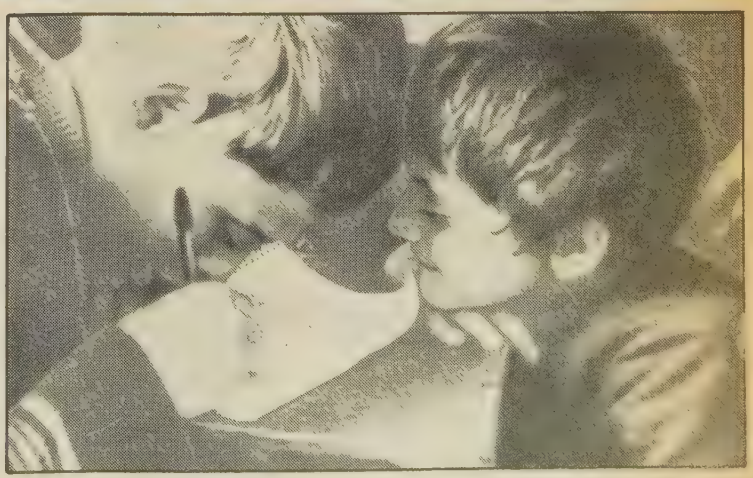
Anke RICHTER
9th form

I Want to Fly to Other Planets

I want to be a space explorer, I want to fly to other planets. But for space research to develop successfully military confrontation must be ended once and for all in the 21st century. Only then will there be sufficient funds for exploration in outer space. Today we are obliged to take part in the arms race, to invent ever new types of weapons, so as not to lag behind. For myself and for all who live on Earth I wish the 21st century to see the establishment of a solid foundation for peaceful coexistence. Then we will be able to make great advances in every field.

Ivonne FRIEDRICH
9th form

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION



Lois Calvo Gorgal of Spain has named this photograph "In School."

DISASTER STRIKES IN WESTERN EUROPE

The culprits and the victims

The international warning centre in Mannheim, which collects all information about Rhine pollution, received a telegram from Basel, Switzerland, at about 3 a.m. on Saturday, November 1. The telegram gave notification of a fire at a warehouse belonging to the Sandoz chemical corporation but said there was no cause for alarm.

The population of the F.R.G. learned of the fire from TV news programme in the morning. They saw a warehouse on the bank of the Rhine, gutted by fire, and the river stained dark red. Quoting a Sandoz official, the newscaster said the river had been coloured by "innocuous dyes."

The West German government was notified of the accident at 11 a.m. The telegrams sent to the Foreign Ministry were reassuring: "There are no grounds for alarm."

It was only on the next day, Sunday, that Sandoz warned all water intake stations along the Rhine that chemicals washed into the river were poisonous. But on Monday, November 3, a spokesman for the environment protection ministry of Baden-Württemberg again reassured the public: citing the results of analyses, he claimed that pollution levels in the river were declining.

On November 4, high concentrations of toxic substances were detected downstream from Basel. Fire fighters, police and volunteers spotted dead fish. Scientists said that the entire ecological system of the Rhine near Basel had been destroyed. Yet, according to the Baden-Württemberg environmental protection minister, Gerhard Weiser (CDU), there was still "no cause for alarm." He said a mere 1,500 eels had perished.

On the fourth day after the catastrophe, however, it transpired that about 150,000 eels had been poisoned. The species had been totally wiped out in the Upper Rhine. Fishermen who have traditionally fished the prized eels had lost their livelihood. But Weiser insisted that the pollution level in the Rhine was relatively low. On November 6, the Swiss environment protection agency admitted that the scale of the catastrophe had initially been underestimated.

On Friday, November 7, the "toxic wave" reached the West German capital. Stations taking water from the Rhine had been shut down and reserve tanks and sources were being tapped for water supplies to the city. But not everywhere had preparations been made in time: fire engines were distributing water in Unkel, Bad Hönningen and other communities. Long queues of people with buckets and cans waited in front of them. The federal minister for environmental protection, Walter Wallmann, spoke in defence of his Swiss colleagues: no blame should be laid on the Swiss authorities, he said, because they had reacted as quickly as possible. On the same day a government spokesman for the press, Friedhelm Ost, made a very different statement and charged the Swiss authorities with having delayed in raising the alarm.

Over the next few days officials charged one another with various blunders but no one admitted to having made a mistake. The environment protection minister of Rhineland-Palatinate, Klaus Töpfer (CDU), complained that information on the disaster "had been misleading and come in too late." Unkel mayor Wolfgang Keiser for his part blamed Töpfer: it was because he had dragged his feet that the Unkel authorities had failed to build up drinking water reserves. Töpfer's colleague in North Rhine-Westphalia, Klaus Matthisen, said the Federal government had given him no aid at the critical moment.

On November 9, Volker Hauff, a deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Bundestag faction, released a statement asking the federal government a number of pointed questions. Why did the federal environmental protection ministry not set up a crisis control centre which could supply advice on fighting the consequences of the disaster? Why was no pressure exerted on the Swiss authorities to learn what chemicals had been stored in the warehouse and which of them had been washed into the Rhine? Why were no recommendations issued to the water supply authorities, industrial enterprises, farmers, fishermen and shipping lines? Why had parents, whose children play on the banks of the Rhine, not been warned? "Twenty million people live on the banks of the Rhine. Those people were left to their fate by the federal government," Hauff concluded.

Now let us return to what happened in Basel on November 1.

The Rhine, flowing westward, is a natural frontier between Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany. It makes a sharp turn northward after 170 kilometres and becomes the divide between the F.R.G. and France.

Basel lies at the junction of the three borders. About 400,000 people live in the city and its suburbs and

Fire fighters battled the flames at a warehouse of the Sandoz chemical corporation for five hours. The attempts to keep toxic chemicals from getting into the Rhine were unsuccessful. Now people in Unkel can get drinking water only from fire engines.

half of them are employed in the chemicals industry in one way or another. Giant chemical corporations, such as Hoffman La Roche, Ciba-Geigy and Sandoz, have plants in the city. They produce pesticides and weed killers, dyes, medicines and many other chemicals. Thousands of tons of highly toxic chemicals and explosives are stored in warehouses stretching along the Rhine.

Fire broke out in warehouse 956 of the Sandoz corporation. An employee spotted the blaze shortly after midnight and when the fire fighters arrived on the scene, the fire was raging with unbelievable strength, with flames leaping up to 60 metres into the air. Altogether 1,246 tons of various chemicals, including finished and semi-finished products and raw materials, had been kept in iron and plastic containers at the warehouse. There were, inter alia, 12 tons of organic mercury compounds (specialists say that a few milligrammes of the substance are enough to kill man). Moreover, four tons of inflammable solvent, which should be stored under special conditions, had been kept at the warehouse.

The 160 fire fighters swamped the burning warehouse with a deluge of 25 cu.m. a minute, although they knew that a mere 15 metres away there was a storage facility containing sodium and other substances which explode on contact with water. Next to it was a warehouse with phosgene, a poison gas used in the first world war and called "green cross" by the Germans. A phosgene leak in the Indian city of Bhopal, following an explosion at a U.S. chemical plant in December 1984, claimed more than 2,000 lives.

One can hardly imagine what scale the disaster could have reached if the fire had not been contained. The fire fighters, fortunately, coped with their task. However, the thousands of cu.m. of water dumped by them on the burning warehouse washed into the Rhine several dozen tons of various chemicals, including at least 200 kg of mercury compounds. The poisonous spill, which stretched for 70 kilometres, was slowly carried northwards, killing all life in its way.

Not only the Rhine but also the air over Basel was poisoned. Traffic at the nearby highway was stopped at 2 a.m. An hour later sirens began blaring in the city and announcers kept repeating over the radio in German, French, Italian, English, Turkish and the Swiss German dialect: "Shut your windows! Stay indoors!" Only an hour after the fire had been put out was the alarm called off.

The causes of the fire have not yet been identified and are not likely ever to be established. But did the Sandoz managers know what the consequences of a fire at warehouse 956 could be? Yes, they did. Had they taken every measure to avert a fire or to minimize the consequences if it did break out? No, they had not. This is obvious from a document obtained by the Greens faction in the F.R.G. Bundestag.

It appears that back in 1981 agents of the Zurich insurance company, with which Sandoz was about to conclude a contract, warned that warehouse 956 was poorly equipped with fire fighting technology. The warehouse, built in 1968, had been designed to store machinery and equipment rather than toxic chemicals. "If a fire breaks out, the hazards will include the pollution of the Rhine along with air pollution because the chemicals will be washed by water into the river," the insurance agents had said. That was exactly what happened.

Meanwhile, the accident could have been averted if the management had heeded the advice offered by the document. The solution was simple: either install automatic fire extinguishers in the warehouse or provide larger reservoirs to collect water and keep it from reaching the Rhine. The corporation did neither: the managers of the business, with an annual turnover of 8.5 billion francs, thought 125,000 francs for the installation of fire extinguishers too high a price for safety. The insurance policy was concluded with Gerling of the F.R.G., whose agents were less discriminating. Perhaps, Gerling will have to pay the 20 million francs compensation for the damage caused the corporation by the fire.

But how is the damage to the Rhine to be assessed?

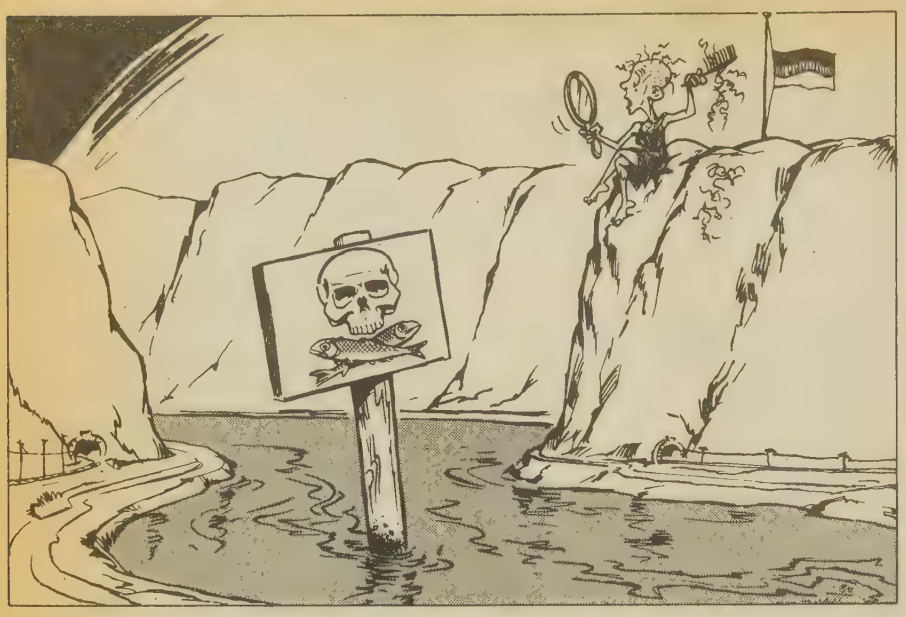
It should be mentioned for the sake of justice that it is not only Sandoz that is to blame for the pollution of the Rhine. An analysis of water from the river showed that it contained large quantities of atrazin, a toxic weed killer.

Sandoz does not produce atrazin and it turned out that the chemical had been dumped in the river by the neighbouring Ciba-Geigy corporation in the hope that the action would go unnoticed after the Sandoz accident.

The first toxic wave was still sweeping down the Rhine when the Basel authorities issued a warning against a second one: another accident occurred at the same Sandoz plant on November 7 and up to 60 tons of water contaminated with chemicals leaked into the river from a faulty pipeline. A third wave cannot be ruled out: some of the toxic chemicals had settled on the riverbed near the burnt-out warehouse and if autumn rainfall swells the river, fast currents will carry them downstream. True, the corporation is making attempts to clean the riverbed, but the work is likely to take several weeks, during which the public will constantly be exposed to the danger.

That was not the end of the string of accidents at Basel plants. In the morning of November 20, radio networks again warned the population to keep doors and windows shut: toxic gas had been released by an experimental plant at Ciba-Geigy.

Poisonous smoke was still hanging over the Sandoz warehouse, destroyed by fire, when a spokesman for the Federal Chemical Industry Union (VCI) said that such accidents were ruled out in the F.R.G. Der Spiegel remarked on that score: "No one but industry spokesmen deny the risk of serious accidents with catastrophic consequences at chemical works."



Relatively minor accidents occur every now and then. Even the VCI admits that there are at least ten such accidents a year. Other specialists, however, put the figure five times as high.

Major accidents are not rare either. Frankfurter Rundschau called a fire at a BASF warehouse in Ludwigshafen "the forerunner of the Basel disaster." As many as 400 tons of highly toxic chemicals were kept at the warehouse and some of them were washed into the Rhine by water used to extinguish the fire. An incinerator for chemical waste at the Bayer works exploded twice, in July 1980 and last April. Unknown quantities of some chemicals (the management refused to supply information) escaped into the environment. A list of such accidents would have taken several pages.

The bosses of the F.R.G. chemical industry are resolved against any government control, let alone public safeguards, at their plants. Regulations which list measures the companies should take to ensure safety and which stipulate their duties in the event of accidents were in the pipeline for six years. Yet these regulations, Der Spiegel says, have many loopholes and even the very concept of "accident" is interpreted rather strangely. Another amazing thing is that under the regulations, plants are obliged to report to the authorities only accidents involving air pollution; water or soil pollution does not count.

Only an event that places people other than servicing personnel (can they be discounted?) at risk or endangers the health of a large number of people, or causes damage to highly valuable property outside the plant, is qualified as an accident. By these standards, a blast at an ethylene plant in January 1985, in which 29 workers were injured, steel fragments shot out onto the nearby Bonn-Cologne motorway, windows broken and roofs torn off houses for 10 kilometres around, cannot even be considered an accident. The regulations prescribe safety measures for production plants but not warehouses, and fail to list many highly toxic chemicals. Government officials could not enforce the regulations even if no obstacles were placed in their way: in Cologne and around it, for instance, 14 officials monitor 150 plants.

Yon sits a wondrous maiden
On high, a maiden fair;
With bright golden jewels
all-laden,
She combs her golden hair.

What would Heinrich Heine say today!

The newspaper Unsere Zeit published by the West German Communists called Bayer, Hoechst and BASF plants "chemical time bombs." Incidentally, most of them stand on the Rhine or its tributaries in densely populated parts of the country.

There are chemical bombs in the literal sense in the F.R.G. as well. They are kept at U.S. military depots in Rhineland-Palatinate, and are enough to kill all life in Europe. They are a grave threat in peacetime too. "A leak of toxins cannot be ruled out," West German author Wolfgang Bartels says in his book "F.R.G. Powder Keg." He describes an incident in March 1968 in which 6,400 sheep were killed by such a leak in Utah, U.S.A. There sheep pastures spread over 500 sq.km., whereas in the F.R.G. an average of 130,000 people live in such an area. Yet the federal government rejects the idea of establishing "a chemical weapons-free zone" in Central Europe.

The aftermath of the Basel disaster cannot yet be assessed in full. It is already clear, however, that the Rhine is dead over a stretch of at least 330 km. from Basel to Mannheim. All fish, crayfish, worms and water fleas have perished. Ducks and swans are dying. Microorganisms may follow them. Specialists believe that it will take years to restore the river's ecological system—if another toxic wave does not come down the Rhine.

* * *

This article had already gone to Moscow when another two "chemical time bombs" went off on the Rhine. At about 6 a.m. on November 21, a pipe in a cooling system at a BASF plant in Ludwigshafen blew up, leaking about two tons of poisonous weed killers into the river. The alarm was sounded anew, water intakes shut down and reserve tanks used to provide water supplies.

A serious accident occurred at a Hoechst plant the following day and some 50 kg of chlorbenzene were leaked into the Main, a tributary of the Rhine. While the BASF managers tried to play down the scale of the accident, claiming that the pollutant was an easily soluble and innocuous substance (the reverse of the truth), the Hoechst accident was reported to the authorities by local people rather than by the plant. Speaking on television, Klaus Matthisen again lambasted the "scandalous notification policy" of the chemical corporations.

A few days before the accident, Federal Minister Wallmann had visited Hoechst plants and lavished praise on the management of the corporation for what he called exemplary safety measures.

A report from Switzerland has given notification of a phosgene leak at a chemical plant. What next?

A. TOLPEGIN
our own correspondent

Bonn

Photos and drawings from Stern, Zeit and Welt

Republic Day, 1986

Achievements and problems

In late autumn 1943 a historic event took place in Yugoslavia. The second session of the Anti-Fascist Council met in the small town of Jajce, on the territory liberated by the partisans. It laid the groundwork for the future socialist statehood of the country. Two years later, on November 29, 1945, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was proclaimed.

The hall in Jajce where 43 years ago the session of the "partisan parliament" took place has been preserved exactly as it was then. On the chairs lie map-cases, forage-caps and first-aid kits as if the delegates are just about to return to continue their work. As if outside the building the war is still going on, although the trenches and bomb craters have long since been overgrown with grass.

The cool of the Belgrade evening is wafted from the windows of Branko Kitanovic's study. The room is lined with shelves of books in the Serbo-Croatian and Russian languages. Kitanovic is a prominent historian well known not only in Yugoslavia but beyond its borders. He is the author of the five-volume study on the decisive battles of the second world war.

"I am often asked why I write so much about the last war," Kitanovic said. "I do so because the pain of bereavement demands not only respect for the memory of the dead. My books are about the past but they have a relevance to the present."

The results of the work done are usually summed up on Republic Day. It is also an occasion for recalling the past and giving thought to the future.

For millions of Yugoslavs the years of peaceful life have been years of constructive labour. Its industry today produces in six weeks as much as it produced in the whole of 1947. Looking at the economic map of Yugoslavia, it is gratifying to see the numerous important projects—power stations, iron and steel works, open-cast collieries—built with the assistance of our country.

Belgrade, which has grown bigger and handsomer during the years of people's government, has in a sense been the pace-setter in the construction of new enterprises, such as the Ivo-Lola Ribar engineering works, the first of its kind in Yugoslavia, and the Broz Tito shipyard for rivercraft, the biggest in the country. Hundreds of plants in 28 branches of industry are operating in the capital.

At this writing plans for 1987 are being discussed and the results summed up in the Yugoslav press. Statistics show that the volume of industrial and agricultural production has increased, as has the number of jobs. The farmers too seem to have given a good account of themselves. They brought in 4.8 million tons of wheat, slightly less than the planned figure, and a bumper crop—over 12 million tons—of maize. The tourist industry has been making a substantial contribution to the national income several years running, adding to the much needed foreign currency earnings. One might say that the whole country is concentrating on fulfilment of the tasks set in the country's long-term programme of scientific and technological development.

At the same time the measures outlined by the government in the middle of the year with a view to stabilizing the economy have evidently not yet produced the desired results. Speaking in the Yugoslav parliament, Zarko Papic, director-general of the federal social planning committee, said that the export plan for this year would not be fulfilled and the balance of payments would still be unfavourable.

The economic situation remains difficult. This was the conclusion drawn by the government in September when it was noted that despite the measures taken there had been no radical change for the better in a number of branches of industry. The inflation rate remains high, exports are diminishing, and there is a gap between the material values produced and the high level of consumption. Municipal services, especially electricity, make heavy inroads on earnings. "We don't have to dig for evidence of price rises," a Yugoslav journalist acquaintance of mine remarked. "Drop into any shop and you'll see shop assistants sticking new tags with higher prices on the goods practically every day."

The government is trying hard to halt the negative tendencies. It is proposed to restructure planning and distribution of income and introduce changes into credit, banking and price formation.

The foreign debt remains a pressing problem. Although Yugoslavia succeeded in obtaining a deferment on part of its payments to Western creditors, payments due this year will run to about $4.5 billion.

"The present difficulties," Dusan Ckrebic, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists, said at the Central Committee meeting in July, "are primarily the result of slowness and indecision in carrying out the long-term programme of economic stabilization, failure to take the necessary measures in economic policy, the lag in the development of socialist self-government, and also insufficiently vigorous efforts of the Yugoslav Communists to overcome the crisis situation, despite the fact that the 13th Congress of the League of Communists called for combating tendencies towards economic isolation of the republics and autonomous provinces and for the establishment of a single domestic market for the whole of Yugoslavia."

A new housing development in Belgrade.

TASS photo

Much attention is being devoted at present to the development of foreign trade ties, to trade and economic cooperation with the CMEA countries. This cooperation, based on mutual benefit, has a stabilizing effect on the economy. Such is the opinion of many Yugoslav leaders who criticize the diverse restrictions and protectionist measures undertaken by some Western countries with regard to Yugoslav goods. Incidentally, the volume of trade with the CMEA countries has increased 20 times over since 1964. Today the share of the CMEA countries in Yugoslavia's foreign trade exceeds 40 per cent. The task now

is to raise not only the quantitative but the qualitative level of this cooperation. At the time of the 42nd meeting of the CMEA the Yugoslav press wrote about the possibilities existing in this sphere. It pointed to the socialist countries' policy of intensive use of direct links, cooperation and specialization of production and the establishment of joint enterprises.

Some headway has been made here. Take cooperation in production, for example. The initial steps in this direction were taken by the automobile plants in Kragujevac, Togliatti and Warsaw, which have established co-production links. Similar links with producers in other socialist countries have been established by the Yugoslav machine-building and chemical industries, shipbuilding and atomic power engineering. Shipbuilding, a leading branch of the Yugoslav economy, occupies an important place in the country's exports and plays a key role in the economic stabilization measures. The performance of this branch is good, but it has some difficulty in obtaining hard currency for the import of materials and equipment. Shipyards turning out rivercraft are working at only half capacity and those producing seagoing ships, at even less.

"Nowadays it is hard not only to build the ships but also to sell them," said Andrija Teodorovic, commercial director of the Belgrade Broz Tito shipyards, one of the oldest in Yugoslavia. "The important thing is to have a backlog of orders, and that is why we value our long-standing cooperation with Sudoimport of the Soviet Union."

... In less than a month now the Belgrade Vasar, the New Year's Fair, will open on the banks of the Sava River. As usual there will be lots of gay music and plenty of fun for both children and grownups. The bands will play, the colourful merry-go-rounds will whirl, the air will be filled with the voices of innumerable vendors of sweets and other goodies. Everyone will be caught up by the holiday spirit, for the Yugoslavs are optimists by nature. Of course, the country is going through a rather trying time, but the people are confident that by their combined efforts, they will be able to cope. Their confidence and resolve are symbolized by the national emblem of Yugoslavia—six torches welded together representing the unity of the six republics and around them, golden sheaves of wheat entwined by a pale blue ribbon, and the date: November 29, 1943—the birthday of the new Yugoslavia.

V. BESKROMNY

Belgrade—Moscow

FRANCE

Stormy Autumn

NIKITA YERMAKOV

Georges Besse's logic was the logic of a capitalist. Appointed president and director-general of the state-owned Renault car concern, he acted accordingly. When the management announced a meeting of the company's board on November 21, everyone knew that the sacking of another five thousand workers was in the offing. In the last two years 21,000 people had been laid off. By the end of December Renault will have a payroll of 75,900 against 100,000 in 1984.

The underground left-wing extremist Action Directe which hopes to crush capitalism with terror decided to prevent this atrocity by perpetrating one of its own. M. Besse was killed in a Paris street with several shots fired at point-blank range. The terrorists got away. Besse died. Capitalism remained.

The shock from the Action Directe sortie lasted several days before politicians and journalists were again engrossed in other burning issues—the parliamentary debates on next year's budget, the redrawing of constituency boundaries, denationalization, the sale of the state-owned TF 1 television company, and the educational reform strongly opposed by the participants in the mass demonstrations held on November 23-24.

It has been an eventful autumn in France. The high point was October 21. For the first time in nine years civil servants all over the country went on strike in response to an appeal from the majority of trade union associations—from the militant General Confederation of Labour (CGT) to an often collaborationist Force ouvrière and the so-called autonomous trade unions, concerned mainly with promoting the specific interests of the groups they represent. There were cuts in power supplies. Trains stopped and dozens of planes were grounded. Post offices and schools were closed and city transport services were erratic. Television screens blacked out. Workers in some private firms staged sympathetic action, although each trade union organization had launched a separate strike call and held separate demonstrations (there were six demonstrations that day in Paris alone, the biggest, organized by the CGT, attracting about 100,000 participants). Divisions in the trade union movement may persist, but the Day of Action has demonstrated that it is capable of showing a united front.

There are objective reasons for this. After the right were returned to power in France, they set about dismantling the public sector and decided to abolish 19,000 "redundant" jobs in the civil service. The authorities froze the salaries of the civil servants and refused to negotiate the issue.

The Day of Action in October was the first major clash between the workers and the Jacques Chirac administration. The results are likely to be far-reaching. The social conflict once again highlighted the fact that the domestic and social policy of the right-wing majority serves the interests of the ruling class and not the great mass of people in France.

The class bias of the government's policy is evident in the National Assembly. The autumn session of parliament is usually referred to as the "budget marathon." Deputies and senators are currently discussing the state budget for 1987. However, the marathon was preceded by several "sprints."

First, they approved an annex to the law on the reform of national radio and television (called Léotard law after its author, the Minister of Culture and Communications). The restructuring provides, among other things, for the privatization of the oldest TV company, TF 1. The annex had been requested by the Constitutional Council to limit possibilities for monopolizing the mass media. According to the left-wing opposition, the measures proposed are inadequate and largely formal. Charles Fiterman, member of the Politbureau and Central Committee Secretary of the French Communist Party, has declared that the bill sets no limits on the monopolization of the media but merely lays down the rules for it.

Second, the government intends to seek approval for its proposed redrawing of constituency boundaries.

On the face of it, the problem looks innocuous enough and should not have provoked much controversy. The demographic situation is changing, people are constantly moving from place to place, and the time has come to revise the country's electoral map in order to ensure that each deputy is elected by an approximately equal number of voters.

But how should the boundaries be redrawn? What happens if, say, a poor neighbourhood in the port city of Havre is merged with wealthy suburbs, small towns and villages scattered over dozens of miles? Problems will arise: the Communists and Socialists will have to deal not only with a sympathetic electorate, but with hostile voters whose support will be hard to win. The votes of the Havre dockers, traditionally cast for the left, will be diluted by the votes of the petty-bourgeois and wealthy strata voting for the right. As a result of the changes, a Communist would need to get 120,000-140,000 votes, while a right-winger would need only 40,000 votes to be elected.

At the request of Le Monde the public opinion firm SOFRES has estimated what the composition of the National Assembly would have been had the elections last March been held in accordance with the majoritarian electoral system in two rounds (the system was restored by the right last summer), and with new electoral boundaries.

The study revealed that the same 45 per cent of the vote would have given the left-wing opposition less than 26 per cent of the seats in parliament. The Communist Party, which gained nearly 10 per cent of the vote last March, would have won only 14 seats, a mere 2.5 per cent of the total. Meanwhile the right would have won 100 seats more with the same number of votes.

The change in the electoral districts could change the balance of forces within the ruling majority. The biggest gain will be made by the RPR (Alliance for the Republic). This will make that party the dominant force in the right-wing bloc, with its partner, the Union for French Democracy (UDF), playing second fiddle.

No wonder the project has been a focus of bitter political conflict. Initially the government's intention was to draw up a corresponding ordinance which the head of state would quietly sign into law without parliamentary approval. The Communists exposed the plan and brought the whole issue to public attention by means of mass demonstrations. Under the circumstances President François Mitterrand refused to sign the document. It was remade into a bill and submitted to parliament. But no serious debate followed. The Prime Minister put a vote of confidence. The no-confidence move failed to win a majority of votes. It was a foregone conclusion as a matter of simple arithmetic. As a result, the bill was automatically approved by the National Assembly and handed over to the Senate.

After these two "sprints," parliament eased itself into a "budget marathon." What are the right-wing government's proposals?

The main idea is to cut the budget deficit by reducing government spending, slashing the civil service payroll, reducing allocations for industry by 10.5 per cent, culture, by 6.4 per cent and agriculture, by 1.7 per cent.

The military, however, will get 6.8 per cent more than in 1986.

Another important issue is the reduction of taxes promised by the right. On the face of it, the government is acting generously by cutting direct taxes by about 27 billion francs, of which half is paid by rank-and-file taxpayers. However, only about 100,000 people will enjoy a net gain (from the repeal of the tax on large estates and fortunes and cuts in the tax on profits). As for the ordinary people, their tax cuts will be balanced out by the increase in payments towards all kinds of social funds. Indirect taxation will also increase.

Trade union demonstrators in Paris said "NO!" to the policy of the government.

TASS photo

It is obvious, writes the Catholic weekly Témoignage Chrétien, that the new budget will only benefit one taxpayer in 100, i. e., the wealthiest people in France. The main clients of the ruling majority are the 100,000-130,000 wealthy people. It is their interests that will be served by the new budget, Laurent Fabius, former Socialist prime minister, said in parliament.

The debates on the budget have just started. New battles lie ahead. In the meantime the "voice of the street" rings louder and louder in the corridors of power.

Paris

Which Way for Outer Space?

Interview with cosmonaut PYOTR KLIMUK

New Times: The U.S. President has been publicizing his "star wars" programme for years, claiming that a "space shield" will make for greater security and spare the world the horrors of nuclear war. What is your opinion on that score?

Klimuk: In his day President Truman also insisted on the need for nuclear weapons on the grounds that they would supposedly bring the Americans peace and security. He paid heed neither to Albert Einstein's calls to destroy the nuclear bomb, nor to the Soviet government's proposals for banning nuclear weapons. America sought a monopoly of nuclear secrets. As a result, the spectre of nuclear war has now been haunting mankind for 40 years.

Today President Reagan is turning a deaf ear to the voices of the American public and of scientists—among them several Nobel Prize winners—opposed to the development of space weapons. He is ignoring Soviet proposals to prevent the spread of the arms race to outer space. Washington is setting its sights on military superiority, which is a mirage. The Soviet Union will never let anyone gain military supremacy over it. This was reaffirmed by Mikhail Gorbachev at his Reykjavik press conference when he said that the Soviet Union's response will be less costly, and will not call for great sacrifices on our part.

The idea of military superiority is illusory in itself. The record of the arms race bears out that the higher the standard of the research and development effort in the arms manufacturing sphere, the more fragile and vulnerable peace becomes. SDI is intended to upset the present parity and strategic balance and thus push the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe, although no self-respecting politician is likely to admit today to the possibility of any country emerging victorious from a nuclear war.

New Times: In current discussions on the subject of the space ABM system, a great deal of attention is paid to its reliability. Any comments?

Klimuk: Attaining the absolute reliability of such a system is about as possible as building a perpetuum mobile. Take, for instance, aviation—the forerunner of cosmonautics. The Wright brothers took off in 1903. Since then no aircraft building company has managed to attain 100 per cent reliability in its planes: hundreds of air crashes occur across the world from year to year. While air crashes take dozens or, at most, hundreds of lives, an error on the part of an ABM space system's computer could kill all the passengers aboard the spaceship named earth.

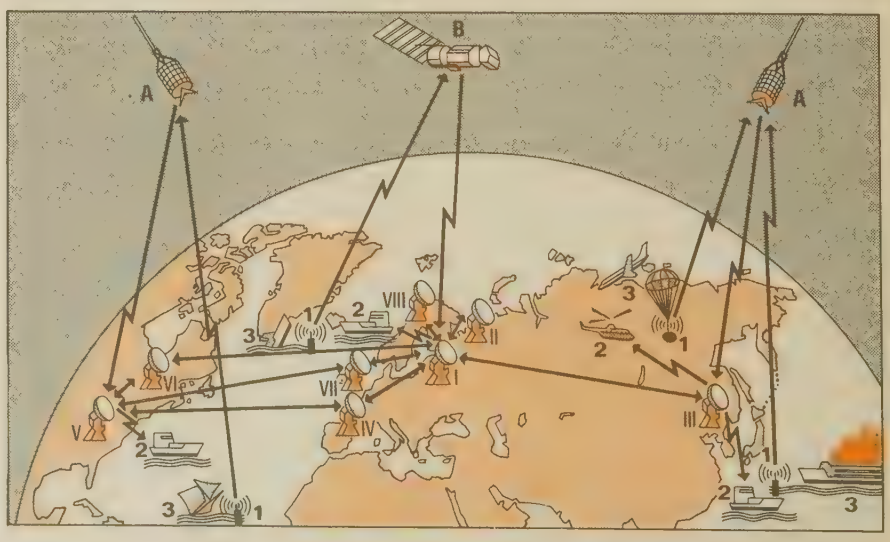
Here is a more convincing example from the purely military sphere: in 1979-80 alone, the North American Aerospace Defence (NORAD) malfunctioned over 150 times, sounding as many false alarms of nuclear attack. American sources say that such alarms still occur about twice a week. In the not unlikely event of the ABM computers picking up such a false alarm, the destiny of the world would de decided by mindless but deadly efficient machines.

Or take cosmonautics, for instance. Spacecraft can hardly boast of absolute safety in all their systems, either, although they are believed to embody the best ideas and technologies from the foremost industrialized countries. Look at the U.S. record of space research, for instance. On January 27, 1967, the cabin of a spaceship simulator caught fire in the USAF Brooks base in San Antonio with the result that three American astronauts, trapped inside by faulty door locks, lost their lives. In March 1966 the Gemini-8 spaceship, manned by Neil Armstrong and David Scott, went into a dizzy spin upon docking with the Agena rocket, and it was only the clever actions of the crew that prevented a tragedy.

In May 1969 the same thing happened to the Apollo-10 spaceship's lunar module as it test-orbited the moon with Thomas Stafford and Eugene Cernan on board. This would have cost the astronauts their lives had not Stafford switched over to manual control in a split second and steadied the module.

The Apollo-13 lunar mission, the Americans' third (in April 1970), also had its share of setbacks. A series of

The COSPAS-SARSAT system



A—COSPAS system satellite. B—SARSAT system satellite. Satellite-transmitted data pickup stations: I—Moscow, II—Arkhangelsk, III—Vladivostok, IV—Toulouse, V—Saint Louis, VI—Ottawa, VII—London, VIII—Tromso. 1—emergency radio buoys, 2—search and rescue facilities, 3—objects in distress.

malfunctions, which started with the oxygen tank explosion in the service compartment, put the astronauts in mortal danger. The experienced spacemen escaped with their lives at the cost of a hard, composed and efficient four-day effort on their own part and that of ground control.

As you see, even space vehicles are, unfortunately, apt to fail. It was for this reason that the Americans played out about 600 and 800 emergency situations as part of the preparations for the Apollo-11 and Apollo-12 space missions, respectively.

Soviet spaceships have also malfunctioned in orbit, and the crews have not always been in a position to deal with the problem. On two occasions our spacemen met with accidents that proved fatal.

The reason why I have emphasized accidents involving American astronauts is that the Americans know to their cost how accident-prone space systems can be.

Further complexity in these systems, which is inevitable as they become more advanced and sophisticated, does not rule out failures. There is enough evidence of that today. Following the Challenger disaster last January, a Titan rocket and a Delta carrier rocket have exploded in the very country that has set its sights on setting up a huge automatic ABM system in outer space. But the advocates of SDI pretend not to have heard these explosions. I consider it reckless to stake the world's future on technical systems, even space-based.

New Times: The SDI programme provides for the development of weapons that prevent the other side from hitting U.S. territory. Is this a realistic proposition?

Klimuk: This is a futile attempt at solving the age-old "shield-versus-sword" problem by technological means. We know from history that every new weapon brings a counter-weapon which reduces its advantages to nought. SDI is no exception.

Soviet scientists have produced a report proving that the idea of creating a "miraculous shield" holds no water whatsoever. Even in the U.S. proper, let alone other countries, thousands of experts (15 Nobel Prize winners included, as I have already mentioned) realize the dangerous adventurism of the "star wars" project and are opposed to SDI.

New Times: The advocates of SDI claim that "star wars" will involve orbital automatic systems only and will have no effect on Earth. What would you say to that?

Klimuk: Well, let us look back at the recent past. Let us recall the year 1962 when the U.S. tested nuclear weapons in space in order to investigate the effect of induced radiation belts on the functioning of ground communication facilities. As a result, radio communication was disrupted over a large part of the globe for days, and the U.S. itself lost radio contact with some of its artificial earth satellites. All the talk about the possibility of our planet emerging intact from "star wars" is false through and through. The American scientist who said that a war in space would only be a prelude to a war on Earth was quite right.

New Times: A version current in the U.S. goes that SDI is the answer to a "Soviet SDI," which our country has allegedly been working on for nearly twenty years.

Klimuk: This version is as familiar as it is groundless. After Reagan first launched it, many asked, with good reason, whether the Soviet Union could really have been engaged in a research activity running counter to Russian-American agreements without the U.S. government getting wind of it. And another thing: when announcing his Strategic Defence Initiative three years ago, the President did not say as much as a word then about it being a countermeasure to offset a similar Soviet project, which itself goes to show that it is a figment.

New Times: Let us now discuss the benefits peaceful space research can bring.

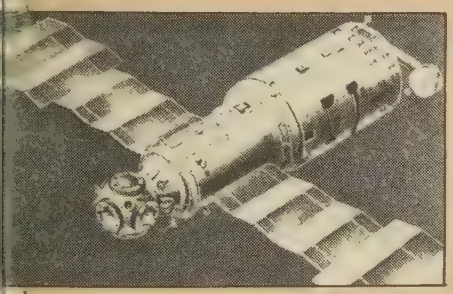
Klimuk: The industrialization of outer space has actually begun. It promises enormous benefits to mankind. At the estimate of UNESCO experts, orbital industrial plants can bring in profits of five to fifty billion dollars a year—to begin with, mind you. Outer space affords us ways of making extensive use of solar energy in various spheres, which will change our industrial production to an extent at present unimaginable. The industrialization of outer space, which is a matter of the not too distant future, means orbiting plants, factories and other production units, solar power stations, huge tele-

"Exploration and development of outer space should be for peaceful purposes only, for the development of science and production, in accordance with the needs of all nations."

(From the Programme of the CPSU)

One of the chief objectives of the Soviet space programme is to orbit permanent research complexes of immediate benefit to the national economy.

The new-generation Soviet space station Mir has been orbiting the earth since February 20, 1986. It provides for a continuous rotation of 5- or 6-man crews. The station is fitted with six docking units which makes for a practically unlimited variation of research jobs: it accepts up to five specialized research modules of up to 21 tonnes each. Fully equipped, and with all the modules in place, the new orbital research complex will weigh about 150 tonnes and measure almost 40 metres in length.



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Along with manned ships and stations, the Soviet Union makes wide use of automatic spacecraft. The Cosmos artificial earth satellites are on standing duty in orbits. Their purposes are to explore the physical properties of the upper atmosphere and the ionosphere, to name a few.

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In mid-1988 two large Soviet probes are to be set off for Mars so as to study one of its satellites, Phobos.

●

The programme of international manned space flights on board Soviet ships and stations is being carried on. A space mission involving a Syrian cosmonaut is scheduled for the second half of 1987, for instance.

●

A space vehicle carrying an X-ray telescope developed by Soviet and British experts is to be put in orbit in 1987. Scientists of the Netherlands and the F.R.G. also take part in this project.

scopes and intermediate cosmodromes for spaceships bound for other planets—Mars, for instance.

What sounds like science fiction today can be made a reality tomorrow by joint effort on the part of the U.S.S.R., the U.S. and other interested countries that have the potential to engage in space research. This is the only alternative to an arms race in space. Pursuing the activities I have just mentioned as part of space industrialization is much easier—and, of course, safer and more profitable—than chasing the chimera of space supremacy.

New Times: Incidentally, examples of international cooperation in space abound. Take the Soyuz-Apollo joint space mission; the Intercosmos programme now nearly twenty years old; the unique operation of two Veha stations approaching Halley's Comet worked out by Soviet scientists in cooperation with their colleagues in Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the G.D.R., Poland, France, the F.R.G. and Czechoslovakia; the COSPAS-SARSAT international satellite search and rescue system which even in its pilot stage saved 550 victims of shipwrecks and air crashes.

Klimuk: Incidentally, this system is going into full-scale operation this year. The popularity of the project, initiated by the U.S.S.R., the U.S., France and Canada, is growing—Britain, Norway, Denmark, Bulgaria, Finland and Sweden are about to join it; Brazil, Japan, Argentina and Spain will follow suit later.

UNESCO experts say that an accurate weather forecast for just five days ahead can save agriculture alone up to six billion dollars a year on a global scale. On the whole, the world space weather system helps prevent tens of billions of dollars' worth of damage likely to be caused by natural calamities.

Plans are already afoot in the Soviet Union for setting up a permanent natural environment monitoring system. Our experts expect it to be effective and to return 12-17 rubles on each ruble invested. These are only a few examples of what peaceful use of outer space can bring.

New Times: Don't you think that it is more expedient economically for the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. to pool their efforts in carrying out complex space research projects than to go their own separate ways? This could become an objective prerequisite for drawing the national space research programmes closer together, for close international cooperation in space.

Klimuk: It stands to reason that such cooperation would strengthen mutual trust, improve interrelations and promote understanding between our two nations. In July 1975, when Vitaly Sevastyanov and I worked on board the Salyut-4 station, the Soyuz-19 spaceship with Leonov and Kubasov on board and the Apollo manned by Stafford, Slayton and Brand, lifted off. It was quite natural that during radio contact with the Flight Control Centre Vitaly and I asked what impression the Soyuz-Apollo mission had made on the world. An operator read out for us a sampling of newspaper headlines: "The Event of the Century," "Giants Meet in Orbit," "The Great Beginning," "A New Epoch in Space Exploration."

To Mars Together

The Soviet-French agreement on joint space research is 20 years old. What progress has been made over that period? What are the prospects? Our correspondent Sergei Leskov put these questions to JACQUES LOUIS LIONS, President of the French National Centre for Space Studies (CNES).

Topping the long list of our joint achievements is of course the flight of our first cosmonaut, Jean-Loup Chrétien, on June 24—July 2, 1982. The international crew of the Salyut-7 orbital station —Vladimir Dzhanibekov, Alexander Ivanchenkov, Jean-Loup Chrétien, Anatoly Berezovoi and Valentin Lebedev—carried out many experiments. Medical experiments, for which Jean-Loup was responsible, figured prominently in the research programme, the main objects of study being the blood circulation in zero gravity (the Echographie experiment), the vestibular apparatus (Posture), the properties of microorganisms and their sensitivity to various antibiotics (Citos-2). According to experts the results of the experiments contributed much to the progress of space medicine.

I learned recently that on a subsequent orbital mission the Soviet doctor cosmonaut Oleg Atkov continued the Echographie experiment using French equipment and that his findings have won him a doctor's degree in medicine. I take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to our Soviet colleague.

As part of our cooperation in space research, we conducted a series of television and telephony experiments involving the Molniya (U.S.S.R.) and Symphonie (France) communication satellites, carried out weather studies by means of meteorological rockets and balloons, installed French instruments on Soviet Venus- and Mars-bound probes, investigated lunar rock samples delivered to earth; and, of course, helped realize the Venus-Halley Comet project, the high point of which occurred in March 1986. That was the first major international space venture France participated in. It took four years to prepare, and brought completely new data on the atmosphere and surface of Venus. The experiments involved in the study of Halley's Comet were also a great success. The Vehas passed within 10,000 kilometres of the comet nucleus. They took numerous photographs of the comet and measured the parameters of its gaseous dust tail.

Four French scientists have been awarded the Orders of the Friendship of the Peoples, a high Soviet government distinction, for their contribution to the success of the Veha project.

It is common knowledge that continuity of experiments makes for the most authentic results. Will joint research be carried on in the fields where it has proved most promising?

The French candidates for a new joint space mission started training in Star City on November 15. They are Jean-Loup Chrétien, already familiar to you, and Michel Tognini, 36, a French Air Force pilot. The new space expedition is scheduled for 1988. The spacemen are to stay in orbit for a month. They will continue to carry out joint research in the field of space medicine.

Instead of concentrating on an organism adapting itself to zero-gravity conditions, as was the case in the first (eight-day) flight, this time the cosmonauts will be able to study stable reactions. Although the subject matter of the experiments remains the same, their

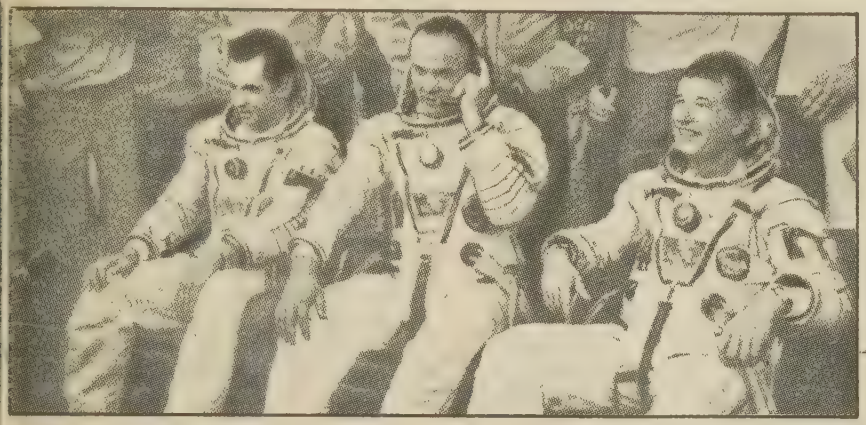
Originating on Earth, ideas are projected into outer space—only to return. Whether they bring back peace or war depends on all of us. It would be an unforgivable mistake to let the ambitious plans and great expectations born of the Soyuz-Apollo flight be thwarted by the militarization of outer space. We must carry on the endeavour which is certain to produce new Staffords and new Leonovs.

A concerted international effort could result in major projects for the utilization of space technology.

Soviet and American scientists could well agree on what to apply their joint energies to: a specialized orbital station for the exploration of natural resources, or a spaceship for a flight to Mars. Or perhaps an orbital production plant. In any case, "star peace" is more productive than "star wars." This work would contribute to the shaping of "space thinking" and promote team-spirit and solidarity instead of dividing us in indivisible space into antagonistic military camps.

Full of unsolved mysteries, outer space is capable of giving mankind "mountains of bread and no end of might," as Konstantin Tsiolkovsky put it. Before an arms race begins there, joint peaceful space research projects are still possible—and what's more, essential.

Interviewer: I. KUZNETSOV



The Soviet-French crew—Alexander Ivanchenkov, Vladimir Dzhanibekov and Jean-Loup Chrétien—right after landing.

programme has been extended to include fundamental problems of space medicine. An attempt will be made to ascertain the still mysterious causes of calcium depletion in the bone tissue and changes in muscle tissue structure—the adverse effects that a long stay in outer space has on man. We shall set up a laboratory on board the Mir orbital station for the purpose.

The mission programme provides for a French cosmonaut to walk in space, and for interesting experiments in radiation medicine and other fields. The project is named Aragats in honour of hospitable Armenia where the programme for the French cosmonaut's long stay in space has been worked out.

Plans are afoot to launch a Soviet-French biosatellite. It will carry two rhesus monkeys, rats and other small animals.

Experts are looking forward to the results of experiments on the middle atmosphere by means of optical radars which are considered the last word in space technology. Britain, the F.R.G. and Scandinavian countries are expected to join in the experiments.

Joint research in the fields of television and telephony will be continued.

So far we've been discussing near-earth space research. But, as Konstantin Tsiolkovsky pointed out, man seeks to break through to deep space, to the stars. Will Soviet-French satellites go beyond the confines of round-the-earth orbits?

In 1988, two space probes will set off for Mars and its satellite Phobos, one of the most mysterious celestial bodies of the Solar system. Not long ago, Iosif Shklovsky, the Soviet astro-physicist, came up with the hypothesis that Phobos is an artifact. We have mapped out an extensive programme of investigations of Mars and its satellite, and propose to land descent modules on Phobos' surface. Preparations are almost complete. We have already started supplying specimens of the equipment required for the missions.

Another interesting project now under discussion is sending automatic probes to Mars and the asteroid belt, and landing a probe on one of them. ■

JAPAN

A Businessman's View

Our correspondent Yuri Tavrovsky interviewed Mr Noboru Goto, President of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

What is your opinion of the Soviet Union's role in Pacific economic cooperation?

We approve of Soviet involvement in the expanding process of regional cooperation. Two key international forums are currently operative in the region—the Pacific Basin Economic Council and the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference. Whereas there are both businessmen and politicians in the conference, in the economic council only businessmen are represented. The Soviet Union could take advantage of the conference for an exchange of views with other Pacific states.

In his Vladivostok speech last summer Mikhail Gorbachev looked at the question of Soviet-Japanese economic cooperation in a new light. However, from the Japanese press it can be seen that neither big business nor medium-sized and small firms have evolved a common view of the proposal, for instance, to establish mixed enterprises. How do you see this?

I think that at this present stage there can only be mixed enterprises in a very limited field. Today the world market is crammed with raw materials and various natural minerals, for which reason any further investment would be irrational. But, as for the processing of marine products and the exploitation of forestry resources, here mixed enterprises would be appropriate.

How do you appraise the political dialogue going between Tokyo and Moscow?

Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan may add a new, very substantial dimension to this dialogue, and I would very much like to see that happen. We maintain that there is a "territorial issue" in our bilateral relationship. You don't think so. At any rate, dialogue is better than silence which generates mistrust and prejudice.

Tokyo

South Yemen After the January Tragedy

VITALY NAUMKIN, D. Sc. (Hist.)

Only those who know Aden well will be able to detect the remaining scars of the fierce armed clashes that erupted there last January. Several damaged houses and shot-holes in the multistorey building of the Aden Hotel are perhaps the last reminders of those events. The streets have been re-asphalted. Factories, offices and shops are doing business as usual. Municipal transport is running as before. Electric power and the water supply have been restored.

"We have been able to bring the city back to normal very quickly," said Ministry of Culture official Hassan, who took me round the capital. "On their days off people worked and still work free of charge to clean up the city, while people in other parts of the country have donated money to the Aden restoration fund. By the summer the capital had more or less assumed its former appearance."

The conflict long maturing within the ruling Socialist Party leadership led to tragedy. It began on January 13 with an armed attack on Political Bureau members who had gathered for a regular meeting. Four of them—Abdel Fattah Ismail, one of the founders of the Yemen Socialist Party, Ali Antar, vice-chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council, Salih Muslih Qasim, Defence Minister, and Ali Shaya Hadi, chairman of the Party control commission—were killed. The action was aimed at removing the leaders who had sharply criticized the then head of state and Party Ali Nasser Muhammad for his authoritarian style and thus earned his disfavour. Simultaneously, Muhammad's followers arrested many leading Party workers, government officials and army, state security and police officers across the country. But in the fighting that broke out in Aden and its environs, the opponents of Ali Nasser Muhammad gained a military hold. They were supported by the majority of the Party, the army and the population as a whole.

Many people in the Party and outside it are still wondering about the causes of the fratricidal conflict, asking whether the bloodshed could have been avoided. Many friends of democratic Yemen abroad believe that the differences and contradictions between the two groups in the leadership were not so profound as to make them irreconcilable enemies. But, in the East particularly, bloodshed can do just that. This is exactly what the imperialist and reactionary forces opposed to South Yemen's development along progressive lines are hoping for.

There were different kinds of people among those who backed Ali Muhammad. Some of them held opportunistic views and did not believe in the possibility of socialist orientation. They played on Muhammad's love of power and, to consolidate their position, exploited the tribal and parochial links of those at the helm of state. Some opposed the progressive course of South Yemen, but concealed their real intentions. The majority of Muhammad's following, however, had made an appreciable contribution to the revolution and had staunchly advocated the progressive path of development. They believed that Muhammad's flexible policy in domestic and foreign affairs helped preserve the achievements of the South Yemen revolution against numerous encroachments by reactionary forces. Some people did not go to the root of the political or ideological controversy and simply followed their fellow tribesmen.

I would like to dismiss as untenable the interpretation of the January events and the preceding crisis in the Yemen Socialist Party as merely an outburst of the intertribal strife that is characteristic of Arabia and other regions. The tribal factor certainly made itself felt in the political struggle, but it was not the principal one.

In the opinion of the present leaders, persons linked with private business had begun to play an ever greater part in Ali Muhammad's entourage. Hence different approaches to economic policy, the methods and style of Party work, and the administration of the state.

The new leadership has already done much to achieve national accord and restore the unity of Party ranks and the efficiency of local Party organizations. A decree issued late in March proclaimed a general amnesty for the supporters of Ali Nasser Muhammad. Its operation has been prolonged till the end of the year. It has been decided to pay benefits and pensions to the families of all those killed during the January events, regardless of which side they were on.

The reactionaries hoped that the January events would undermine friendship between South Yemen and the Soviet Union. All kinds of stories concocted by the Western media were taken up by Arab reactionaries. But these provocative fabrications burst like a soap bubble. The world community has seen once again that the Soviet Union is undeviatingly guided by the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and respects the sovereign right of peoples to decide their own destiny. In January, when fighting raged near the Soviet embassy, the Soviet citizens working in South Yemen had to evacuate. Several thousand specialists and members of their families left the burning Aden. Within hours, all of them had been taken aboard Soviet merchant ships, whose crews displayed great skill and courage in the distressing situation. But in under a month the Soviet specialists began to return to South Yemen to continue to help with the building of different economic installations.

...The Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform faces the main square of Khormaksar district, where the fiercest battles were fought. Workers were repairing the façade when I arrived. I was received by Dr Ahmed Ali Muqbil, the minister, who studied and took a degree in Moscow.

"We have a lot to do," the Minister said in Russian. "It's very important to develop agriculture and raise its productivity, for almost half of our foodstuffs have to be imported. The expansion of agricultural production is a complex task, if only for the reason that a mere one per cent of our territory is suitable for cultivation. South Yemen is a land of deserts, mountains and rocks.

"Attempts to assess the situation in the countryside are now hindered by the absence of reliable statistics," Dr Muqbil went on. "It is clear even without statistics, however, that the cooperatives and state farms have declined, and they hold about 75 per cent of the arable land. The state-owned farm machine hire stations are in a particularly sorry plight because they are unable to compete with private owners."

"Several years ago," I said, "the Socialist Party adopted the policy of encouraging the growth of individual peasant farms which, along with cooperatives and state farms, have a

considerable part to play in the expansion of production. What was the mistake then?"

"It was, indeed, necessary to help individual peasants," the Minister agreed, "especially after the mistakes made in the 1970s, which resulted in a decline in production. But this help should have impelled the individual peasants to increase production rather than become 'new rentiers.' In our country peasants can only be sold light tractors needed for the cultivation of their plots. Contrary to this rule, the former minister and other top officials granted individual peasants not only heavy tractors, but also bulldozers and graders on credit, and sometimes distributed them free of charge. The owners of these machines did not themselves work in the field, but hired them out to poor peasants, enriching themselves at their expense."

"Does this mean that you intend to restore the decisive role of the farm machine hire stations?"

"We shall have to act with caution," Ahmed Ali Muqbil replied. "It is first necessary to make out which approach is more advantageous: providing the cooperatives and peasants with farm machines through state-owned hire stations or selling them directly to the cooperatives. The main purpose is to ensure the priority growth of the cooperatives and state farms and bar the way to new exploiters. The individual peasants must be helped, but this help should be in the common interest, without assisting their personal enrichment."

Emigration has always been a very complex and essentially contradictory problem for the republic. The scarcity of natural resources and the need to strengthen the defence capacity of the country, against which external enemies conspire, have slowed down progress and hindered the rapid abolition of age-old backwardness. In these circumstances the example of neighbouring oil-producing countries where living standards are much higher than in South Yemen has proved a temptation, though, of course, it is not by bread alone that a man lives. Many of those who had gone away in search of a living and come back told me they feel incomparably better at home where people have been emancipated, take an active part in the life of society, and are sure that their children will get an education. Nevertheless, many people still go abroad to earn their living and officially, or even illegally, cross the frontier. For years the money remitted by them to their families and their bank deposits have constituted an appreciable part of the republic's hard currency earnings. But this flow has noticeably diminished recently because of the deteriorating situation in the oil-producing countries (caused by a fall in oil prices) and the restrictive measures taken against immigrant workers in them.

"Instead of investing the available currency in production and the construction of new economic installations," Political Bureau member and secretary of the Socialist Party Central Committee Fadl Mohsen told me, "it was largely used for the purchase of luxury items abroad, and the import of cars, electronic household appliances, and so on. Skittle-alleys, playground complexes, swimming pools and guest houses were built in the administrative centre of the Abyan Province. Private building contractors lined their pockets on such orders, and there were even millionaires among them. We are now introducing a regime of austerity. All resources will be used for the purpose of development. We firmly intend to rely primarily on our internal resources so as to depend less on sources which can be cut off by others. We have also understood that it is very important to strengthen the state-owned building organizations in order to eliminate a damaging waste of resources and avoid a situation where disputes over often trifling problems grow into an insoluble conflict. The development of Party democracy in every possible way and strict observance of the norms of Party life must become an obstacle in the way of such practices."

This is the aim of the current process of renewal in the Yemen Socialist Party. Party conferences were held recently in the provinces of Aden, Abyan and Shibwah, which were seriously affected by the January events. Party organizations and Party committees, as well as mass public organizations have been re-instituted. The youth league and the unions of women and journalists have held their congresses, and a congress of the General Confederation of Workers was convened in October.

At the end of October, elections to the Supreme People's Council (parliament) and local councils took place. They were held in an orderly manner, with 89 per cent of registered voters going to the polls.

Of great importance for restoring the Party, which has lost many of its experienced and trained cadres, is played by the Party education system. At the Abdallah Badhib Institute of Scientific Socialism (named after the founder of the first Marxist group in South Yemen) classes had already been resumed at the end of February.

"The institute plays an important role in the ideological and political education of Party members and their study of the theory of scientific socialism," director Abdel Ghani Maqtari told me. "There are one-year and three-year courses. We intend to develop new forms of study such as theoretical conferences and symposia, and to link the study of the theory more closely with the real state of affairs in Yemen and the everyday work of the Party."

One of the major tasks of the restoration period is the further consolidation of South Yemen's position in the world.

Since its inception the republic has sought to build its relations with other countries in the region on the principle of good-neighbourliness. But it has not always succeeded in these efforts because imperialism and local reaction have repeatedly provoked border conflicts and crises. In the recent past, groups of these reactionaries made raids on the republic from camps set up near its borders. Some would like to restore the old order. During his tour of Arabian countries, including the Yemen Arab Republic, last spring U.S. Vice-President George Bush claimed that the Aden regime did not respect the territorial integrity of its neighbours. As we see, it is suggested even today that the new leadership is plotting the "export of revolution" to neighbouring countries. In fact, the Socialist Party leadership consistently promotes good-neighbourly relations based on mutual respect, non-interference in internal affairs, and ensuring the rights and freedoms of each nation.

Aden unswervingly pursues a policy of strengthening fruitful and friendly relations between the republic and the Soviet Union, and of promoting ties between the Yemen Socialist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Last June South Yemen's Prime Minister Yassin Said Naoman paid an official visit to Moscow.

Touching on the relations between our countries, General Secretary of the Socialist Party Central Committee Ali Salem al-Beydh stressed more than once that the Yemenis greatly appreciate the outstanding role the Soviet Union had played in the consolidation of the republic's independence and in assisting the republic to implement its economic plans and increase its defence capacity.

During his meeting with Ali Salem al-Beydh in Aden late in October, CPSU Political Bureau member Geidar Aliyev reaffirmed the Soviet Union's unfailing solidarity with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen at the present difficult stage in its development. An intergovernment agreement on the expansion of economic and technical cooperation between the two countries was signed in Moscow on October 29. Under this agreement the Soviet Union will help South Yemen in oil prospecting, the building of irrigation facilities, land cultivation, and the training of national personnel.

■

Commemorating the Half Centenary
of the Death of Georgi Chicherin

He Was Lenin's Assistant in Diplomacy

Early in 1918 Petrograd was in the grip of a bleak, harsh winter. The storm of the socialist revolution had just swept the country. The cruiser Aurora had fired her salvo to give the signal for the assault on the Winter Palace, where the frightened ministers of the deposed Kerensky government had taken refuge. Red Guard detachments still patrolled the streets. Power in the Russian capital was in the hands of the workers and soldiers.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs (Narkomindel—Russian abbreviation) was housed in an impressive building in the centre of the city. The entrance was guarded by men armed with rifles. The building appeared deserted. The officials were sitting in their apartments. Only the janitors and couriers who had joined the revolution were at their posts. There was not a single official of high standing in the premises. When the representatives of the new, Soviet power called on one of them at his home to ask him to hand over the files and duties, fear drove him to bed with his clothes and shoes on.

The old St. Petersburg diplomatic service was in its death throes. The consummation was so quick as to be barely perceptible. On the following day hardly anybody abroad mentioned it. It was as if the old diplomatic service had never existed. The last of the foreign service officials whiled away their time in cafés in Paris or the casinos of Monte Carlo failing, to the end of their days, to grasp what had happened to them and the world.

However, no sooner had the old diplomatic service left the scene than the new one took over, without losing a single day. Something totally new, without precedent in the history of diplomacy—not only Russian, but also world diplomacy—was coming into being in the winter frost, often to the accompaniment of rifle shots. The international relations of a huge country were now in the control of revolutionaries.

The ambassadors of foreign powers would have nothing to do with them. They superciliously refused to call at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. They were sure that in two or three weeks socialist diplomacy would have disappeared without trace. However, when this failed to happen, they left the capital of the new-born Soviet Republic one by one. The imperialist powers organized armed intervention against it from the south, the west, the east and the north. They even had recourse to acts of terrorism. An attempt on Lenin's life was plotted.

But the world had already heard the voice of the new, socialist diplomacy which had issued a call to all countries to end the war. Lenin was working indefatigably on foreign policy matters in the Smolny. His instructions were being sent continuously to the Commissariat. Leninist diplomacy was taking shape.

What would it bring the world? What would it contribute to international affairs?

Georgi Chicherin, head of the Russian delegation at the Genoa conference.

The office of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs was held by a man who did not at all fit in with the generally accepted image of a diplomat. Later it turned out that he did not even have a dress coat or a top hat. He looked more like an artist or a young scholar. Everyone who knew him, even some of his opponents, would say later that there was something inherently noble in his features. Though his face seemed calm, it displayed the utmost concentration. He seldom raised his voice or made brusque gestures. When I saw him, he seemed to have come straight out of a novel by Ivan Turgenev. His appearance was that of a typical Russian intellectual.

However, Georgi Chicherin later turned out to be a brilliant diplomat. In the 1920s many in the West agreed that had Chicherin wanted he could have been a distinguished member of the universally recognized bourgeois diplomatic service. Lenin once characterized him in the following terms: "Chicherin is a splendid worker, most conscientious, shrewd, knowledgeable. Such people should be highly appreciated. That his failing is lack of 'commandership' does not matter. There are plenty of people in this world who have the opposite failing!" The founder of the Soviet state never spoke an idle word. He was exacting with respect to all, and particularly himself.

Looking at old photographs you cannot help but wonder at the memories they evoke. It is only now, several decades later, that you can fully comprehend the scale of all that our generation witnessed and experienced. What appeared simple and ordinary in the days of your youth acquires its real historic importance nowadays. We remember the people looking at us from the photographs of the 1920s, and we understand them better as we

reconsider the events with which they are associated.

Politically Chicherin is a man of our time. More than that, he is one who is particularly characteristic of it. He was the first socialist diplomat in history and also the most modest. No wonder he commanded such respect. He was the first diplomat of his kind.

He started as none of his colleagues had done before him. He had not been trained for the diplomatic service, though he had served at the tsarist foreign ministry's archives for several years. He did not even have a regular diplomat's diploma. As a revolutionary he had languished in prison, first in Germany and then in Britain. Despite the extreme pressure of work, at the outset the entire staff of the Commissariat was restricted to a few dozen people. However, Chicherin knew how to consider matters carefully, how to check all details and act. At this point it is appropriate to ask what the principal element in Chicherin's policy was, when he headed the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

The answer leaves no room for doubt. In the 1920s, all of Chicherin's efforts were unquestionably concentrated on the struggle for peace.

He said this as early as June 17, 1920, when he formulated the fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy: "Our slogan has always been and continues to be unchanged: peaceful coexistence with other governments regardless of what they may be."

Addressing the Genoa conference in the spring of 1922 he declared that the delegation from Moscow intended to propose general arms reduction and a reduction of the armies of all states with a complete ban on the most barbaric forms of warfare.

He said this 64 years ago when there was no atomic bomb. Nobody could have put it in clearer terms. From its inception the Soviet Republic has always championed peaceful coexistence and disarmament. In carrying out Lenin's instructions, Chicherin never tired of making this clear. Regardless of how you appraise international developments since then, it is an indisputable fact that it was the "dreamers" and "fanatics" of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow (as they were often referred to in the West) who pioneered the effort for peace.

Let us approach the question from a different angle. Which accomplished Western diplomat of the period between two world wars can be compared with Chicherin in the effort to ease international tensions? Suppose we take a textbook on the history of diplomacy for reference.

Take Lord Curzon, the dignified head of the British Foreign Office, the recognized successor of Palmerston and Disraeli. However, he was utterly defeated by Chicherin in diplomatic frays during the British armed intervention in the north of Soviet Russia as well as when the fate of the Middle East was being decided between 1920 and 1924.

Or take Chamberlain, Simon, Hoare and Lord Halifax, Curzon's successors at the Foreign Office. They attempted to hammer together another anti-Soviet coalition and ended up committing diplomatic suicide in Munich in 1938. What can the British diplomatic school, which once caused the whole of Europe to tremble, boast of today? London suffered one defeat after another. It never really won anything worthwhile.

And what of the leaders of the French diplomatic school of the same period, who also took part in the armed intervention against the Soviet Republic and similarly refused to negotiate with Moscow? Which one of them can claim to have been a successful and perspicacious politician? A miniature Talleyrand at least? Like Curzon, Poincaré and Millerand attempted to head an anti-Soviet front in Europe and both of them were defeated by Chicherin at the Genoa conference. Briand, Poincaré's rival and the Odysseus of Quai d'Orsay, who sought to defeat Soviet diplomacy by concluding a pact with Germany at Locarno in 1925, fared no better than his predecessors. Those who replaced Poincaré and Briand in the 1930s, namely Flandin, Laval and Bonnet, ultimately plunged France into disaster.

What did U.S. diplomacy gain under Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, who flatly refused to recognize the U.S.S.R. and covertly and constantly incited anti-Soviet forces all over the world? They claimed that the U.S. stood to gain from the mutual exhaustion of the antagonists in Europe.

But the diplomats from the U.S. State Department gained nothing. It is true that President Harding promised his supporters that his policies would reward every American with a chicken in his pot and an automobile in his garage. However, it is equally true that U.S. diplomacy only helped aggravate the worst economic crisis this country ever experienced. And it was only Franklin D. Roosevelt, who, establishing diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. in 1933, managed to change this policy.

No, there is no denying that none of the leading bourgeois diplomats of the 1920s and of later years could be compared with Chicherin, the pioneer of socialist diplomacy.

The books and documents of the period give a clear picture of the events of the time. The Curzons, Chamberlains, Lavals, and Hoovers raved, raged, threatened Moscow openly and under their breath, and hatched conspiracies against the Soviet Republic only sooner or later to retire discomfited. In contrast, Chicherin and his comrades-in-arms in Moscow made steady progress. Though there were stops, obstacles and barriers, they nevertheless advanced. The present international scene is graphic proof of this. The efforts of the early socialist diplomats headed by Chicherin made no small contribution to the present balance of world forces, decisive for the destinies of the world in the 20th century.

They were active in the field of international relations for a relatively short time. For instance, Chicherin and his closest associates, Krasin and Vorovsky, worked for less than ten years. However, during this period they made more progress in pursuit of their objectives than several generations of bourgeois diplomats had done in pursuit of theirs over several centuries.

Another outstanding matter. Prior to Chicherin no diplomat anywhere had ever raised the issue of the independence of the Third World countries.

While preparing for the conference in Genoa early in 1922 Chicherin wrote to Lenin: "The world powers are beginning to fall to pieces.... The novelty of our international scheme should consist in the demand that the Negro and other colonial peoples shall participate on an equal footing with the European nations in conferences and committees and shall have the right to prevent interference in their internal affairs.... The stronger parties should voluntarily cooperate with the weaker parties and assist the latter without subordinating them."

These words were written 64 years ago. The writer emphasized not only the idea of peace, but also the idea of freedom for the peoples of the colonies.

The statements of Chicherin as a diplomat are still valid in 1986. He could still have been active in the field of international relations along the lines he pursued in the 1920s. The Soviet foreign policy programme he formulated then completely coincides with the U.S.S.R.'s present foreign policy.

Of course, Chicherin had a most illustrious and exacting teacher—Lenin. But Chicherin was a worthy disciple. It would be fair to say that the Soviet diplomat of the 1980s is, in political terms, Chicherin's double. Only today his influence in the world has increased tenfold.

Owing to poor health, Chicherin retired from the Soviet diplomatic service more than 50 years ago. He died in 1936. He spent his last years alone in his apartment in the Moscow Arbat neighbourhood. He enjoyed playing the music of Mozart, on whom he was an authority.

I remember the world's first socialist diplomat as a quiet man who had, I believe, an ardent soul. History has not forgotten him, nor shall it.

Ernst HENRY

I read in your magazine (No. 44, 1986) that the population of the U.S.S.R. has increased by 62.5 million over the past quarter of a century to top 280 million. I wonder at what rate your farm output has grown over the same period. I'm particularly interested in growth figures for grain production, because, as far as I know, bread has always been and remains a staple for most people in your country.

Antoine LEROY
Geneva, Switzerland

A Quarter-Century Ago and Today

Over the last twenty-five years (1960-85) our gross farm output has grown by 70 per cent. As for the output of grain, other food crops and basic livestock products, see the table below based on a report by the Central Statistical Board of the U.S.S.R.

In old Russia, which was a predominantly peasant country, bread was indeed the staple food for most of the population (in 1913 its consumption amounted to 200 kg per capita). In the difficult war years, and immediately after the war, bread and potatoes were similarly staples for millions of Soviet people. Since then our diet has changed considerably. The proportion of bread and pasta foods has decreased (to 133 kilogrammes in 1985, see the table above), while that of eggs, fish, milk, dairy products, vegetables, fruit and berries has grown.

THE OUTPUT OF CERTAIN FARM PRODUCTS

	1960	1970	1980	1985
Gross output of farm products, mln tons:				
grain	125.5	186.8	189.1	191.7
sugar beet	57.7	78.9	81.0	82.1
sunflower seeds	3.97	6.14	4.62	5.23
potatoes	84.4	96.8	67.0	73.0
vegetables	16.6	21.2	27.3	28.1
Output of basic livestock products:				
meat (slaughter weight), mln tons	8.7	12.3	15.1	17.1
milk, mln tons	61.7	83.0	90.9	98.6
eggs, bln pieces	27.4	40.7	67.9	77.3

FOOD PRODUCT CONSUMPTION
(per capita per year, kilogrammes)

	1960	1970	1975	1980	1985
Meat and meat products in terms of meat (including lard and raw offal)	39.5	47.5	56.7	57.6	61.4
Milk and dairy products (in terms of milk)	240	307	316	314	323
Eggs, pieces	118	159	216	239	260
Fish and fish products	9.9	15.4	16.8	17.6	17.7
Sugar	28.0	38.8	40.9	44.4	42.0
Vegetable oil	5.3	6.8	7.6	8.8	9.7
Potatoes	143	130	120	109	104
Vegetables and melons	70	82	89	97	102
Fruit and berries (minus those processed into wine)	22	35	39	38	46
Cereal products (bread and pasta foods in terms of flour, groats, beans, flour)	164	149	141	138	133

Now we are never short of grain, even in the leanest years. However adverse the weather, we gather in more grain than is necessary to meet the population's demand for bread and other baked products. As for fodder grain, we still do not have enough of it.

Our agriculture and the industries related to it still face several problems associated with improving the supply of food to the population. Producing more meat and dairy products than we do now is our top priority. Although special attention is now paid to the development of agriculture, it still lags behind the overall economic growth rate. Our most immediate task associated with increasing the food supply is to cut farm produce losses in harvesting, transportation, storage and processing. This could contribute to increased consumption figures by a dramatic 20 per cent or even 30 per cent. It costs half or even a third as much to reduce losses than it does to make up for them by extra production.

The results of the current year have still to be assessed, but it is already obvious that our agriculture—and our economy in general—are undergoing impressive changes. Growth rates in farm output have increased markedly. The gross grain crop will amount to nearly 210 million tons in 1986, which is almost 30 million tons up on the last five-year period's average annual figure.

Albert PIN

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Peace, Music, Flowers

The majestic chords of Beethoven's "Fantasia" ring out over the hall. Masses of flowers in large handsome vases stand on the brightly-lit stage. The audience watches spellbound as floral arrangements in a colour spectrum designed to convey the spirit and the mood of Beethoven's music take shape before their eyes.

This rather unusual contest is held annually in Tallinn, the Estonian capital. The contestants are floral arrangers from the Baltic countries. The motto of this year's contest, dedicated to the International Year of Peace, was "The Baltic Sea—a Sea of Friendship." Each contestant submitted two floral compositions, one prepared in advance, "A Posy for Mother," and the other arranged directly on the stage to music played by the Estonian State Symphony Orchestra.

The Grand Prix was won by Kai Köhler of the F.R.G. The first prize went to Ann-Kristinn Dimitru of Sweden, who won the Grand Prix last year.

Many people left the Palace of Culture and Sport—where the contest was held—carrying flowers. Bouquets and baskets of flowers were on sale at an exhibition in the foyer.

● The judges were exacting but fair.

● A new arrangement.

● During the contest.

TASS photos

Spiderman Charles Rivers at work. A self-portrait.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE
PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

Photo by
Charles
RIVERS
(U.S.A.)

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX:

ITS AIMS, INTERESTS AND MECHANISM

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NEW TIMES

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Design by A. GARANIN

"The monopolies that manufacture arms, the military, the state bureaucracy, the ideological machinery and militarized science that have merged to form the military-industrial complex have become the most zealous advocates and makers of policies of adventurism and aggression. The sinister alliance of the death merchants and imperialist state power is a pillar of extreme reaction, a constant and growing source of war danger, and a convincing confirmation of the capitalist system's political, social and moral untenability."

From the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Parity or Superiority?

In the past few years we have been receiving an increasingly large number of readers' letters asking what the military-industrial complex is and what role it plays in world politics. This is only natural considering the acute problems posed by present-day reality. The threat of nuclear war is growing—where does it come from! The arms race is accelerating—what are its motive forces! Who is responsible for these developments, who stands to gain from them!

When discussing these problems, one should take into account the specific features of the military-strategic situation which took shape in the world by the early seventies. By an enormous effort, the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries put an end to the military superiority of imperialism, and a rough military parity between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO was achieved. There arose a situation where the armed forces and armaments of the two military-political alliances balanced out on the whole, despite separate disproportions and different compositions. The attainment of parity greatly limited the possibility for imperialism to unleash a nuclear war.

Mankind is worried over the prospects of development of the military-strategic situation and wants it to take a turn that would increase security. The realities of the nuclear and space age make it imperative to follow the road of disarmament, to maintain parity while reducing the level of military confrontation. It was pointed out at the 27th Congress of the CPSU that the present level of the equilibrium of the nuclear capabilities of the opposing sides is much too high and equally dangerous to each of them. "Continuation of the nuclear arms race," Mikhail Gorbachev noted, "will inevitably heighten this equal threat and may bring it to a point where even parity will cease to be a factor of military-political deterrence. Consequently, it is vital, in the first place, dramatically to reduce the level of military confrontation. In our age, genuine equal security is guaranteed not by an excessively high but by the lowest possible level of strategic parity, from which nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction must be totally excluded."

Nevertheless, the reactionary West has made a different choice. In the early eighties the United States opted for upsetting the military-strategic balance and seeking to gain military superiority. That was the choice of the U.S. right-wing forces which craved for power.

The Republican Party recorded in its pre-election platform, approved by its Detroit convention in 1980, that the Republicans committed themselves to increase military expenditure without delay and spend it on supposedly vital arms programmes, and that they would bring this expenditure up to the level ultimately ensuring the military supremacy the American people demanded. The reference to the people is pure rhetoric designed to cover up the adventurist turn in U.S. military and foreign policy. This turn, initially recorded in the pre-election documents, was subsequently brought about by the right-wing forces, the military-industrial complex included.

U.S. actions and political documents show that the dead hand of the past retains its grip, that some still feel nostalgia for the times of positions-of-strength policy. But those who, at the end of the 20th century, nurture hopes of regaining the lost advantages are labouring under illusions. And in politics, illusions are dangerous, especially in the nuclear age of ours.

What is at stake in the militaristic game is of vital importance to all. The policy of upsetting the military-strategic parity is not merely an attempt to gain separate military advantages over the other side. In the eighties the imperialist states concentrate not on some particular measures in the military sphere. We are witnessing an accelerated "post-parity" and "anti-parity" militarization of the U.S.A. and NATO. Long-term programmes for the improvement and buildup of the main types and systems of mass-destruction weapons are being carried out. New areas for the spread of the arms race—to outer space, above all—are opened up. Enormous financial, manpower and material resources are channelled to arms production. The record of militarization in the eighties has reaffirmed the leading role played by the military-industrial complex in inculcating the ideology and conducting the policy of war, in increasing the war danger.

Summing up the outcome of the Reykjavik summit, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the U.S. leadership "depends too much on the military-industrial complex, on monopoly groups for whom the race in nuclear and other weapons is a business, a source of profit, the end-all and be-all of their existence and activity."

In this supplement the reader will find an analysis of the objectives, interests and anti-popular operation of the military-industrial complexes of the U.S.A. and other NATO countries.

Alliance of the Forces of Adventurism and Aggression

Much of what the military-industrial complex does is concealed from the public eye by the veil of military and business secrecy. On the whole, however, the formation of the military-industrial complex is no mystery if seen as a process and an outcome of the development of militarism under state-monopoly capitalism. It is from this angle that one can get a deep insight into the military-industrial complex as a social phenomenon. How do Western scholars assess this phenomenon? U.S. encyclopedias define militarism as "the predominance of the military class or prevalence of their ideals," "a spirit which exalts military virtues and ideals," "a policy of aggressive military preparedness." By such definitions capitalist scholars and propaganda seek to impress it on public opinion that militarism is a universal phenomenon characteristic of various countries irrespective of their socio-economic system. Such vague and empty definitions are used to back up the thesis, being spread in the West, about the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization being equally responsible for new arms spirals.

A scientific system of views on the problems of war and peace was worked out by Lenin, who stressed that militarism was the result and the "vital expression" of capitalism. The two world wars and the entire history of the present century have demonstrated the powerful activization of the militarist "vital expressions" of capitalism at the monopoly stage of its development. Militarism has become a truly monstrous product of imperialism.

New Aspects of Militarism

It is important, however, to see not only the deep-seated causes of militarism but also the concrete specific features of its development in the second half of the 20th century. In the postwar period militarization of capitalist society has gained in scope, rate and intensity to an enormous degree. For instance, the average strength of the U.S. armed forces in any postwar decade was about ten times that in the 1930s. The number of those employed in the munitions industry was 3,275,000 in 1985 as against 314,000 in 1940. These figures speak for themselves.

It has become typical of the Western states to perpetuate the development of militarization processes, to keep million-strong armies and a big munitions industry in peacetime. The use of the latest advances in science and technology for the development and buildup of nuclear missiles and other weapons of mass destruction has assumed unprecedented proportions. More and more capitalist and developing countries are being drawn into war preparations with a view to creating and strengthening an aggregate military might of imperialism under the aegis of the U.S. and NATO.

The formation of military-industrial complexes, their activity and their increasing economic and political role in the West, the U.S. above all, over the past decades is a **new phenomenon in the development of militarism** brought about by its "permanence" and by a close interlacement in it of expansionist and counterrevolutionary traits in the conditions of major postwar changes in the alignment of world forces.

The military-industrial complex has no clear-cut organizational structure. It is an informal but very real alliance of certain organizations and individuals having common economic and political interests and maintaining steady partnership in the sphere of war preparations. It is a special faction of the ruling class of imperialist states which is identified with militarism and has all its interests in the arms race.

The military-industrial complex is an inalienable part of the process of the capitalist state merging with the monopolies into a single mechanism. In other words, it is a product of the development of state-monopoly capitalism, a new, specific feature capitalism has acquired in the second half of the 20th century.

Monopolies and the state are interconnected by thousands of links. In the postwar period they have developed a sharply pronounced trend towards interaction in the military sphere. In the structure of state-monopoly capitalism there has appeared, and consolidated its position, a military sector—the military-industrial complex especially interested in the acceleration of militaristic processes.

Of great importance, both politically and economically, is the private-property nature of the military-industrial complex. During World War II, for instance, the U.S. had 1,600 state-owned munitions factories which were later

sold out to form the basis of a big private munitions industry. Today the U.S. has only 72 state-owned arms manufacturing plants. In the F.R.G. the private sector has also gained a firm foothold in the munitions industry, while in France and Britain state-owned and mixed arms companies constitute a much larger proportion of the total.

So **the military-industrial complex as a social phenomenon of modern capitalism is intertwined with private-property interests,** which unequivocally points to its capitalist origin and to its indissoluble connection with the capitalist system. This is as fundamental as the fact that the activity of the military-industrial complex amounts to a dangerous invasion by private-property interests of the public sphere—the sphere of the issues of war and peace pivotal to mankind's future. Naturally enough, arms corporations put their own selfish interests before the interests of the public which wants a lasting peace and security, and an end to the arms race.

Hence the futility of attempts by certain Western authors to present the military-industrial complex as a universal phenomenon characteristic of all the industrialized countries. These authors deliberately "divide" the responsibility for unrestrained militarism between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. regardless of the fact that in socialist countries there is no nutritive medium for the military-industrial complex, i.e., no classes, social strata or professional groups economically and politically interested in war preparations.

"By dint of its social nature, imperialism ceaselessly generates aggressive, adventurist policy," the 27th Congress of the CPSU pointed out. "Here we can speak of a whole complex of impelling motives: the predatory appetites of the arms manufacturers and the influential military-bureaucratic groups, the selfish interest of the monopolies in sources of raw materials and sales markets, the capitalists' fear of the ongoing changes and, lastly, the attempts to resolve their own, snow-balling problems at the expense of socialism."

Accomplices. . .

The conglomerate of institutions and individuals constituting the military-industrial complex pivots on the monopolies producing arms and combat equipment. As general contractors of the war ministries, these giant monopolies get the bulk of military orders from the government. With the present level of arms manufacturing concentration, a rather narrow and steady group of such monopolies is in control, although thousands of other companies are enlisted in the production of modern weapon systems as subcontractors and suppliers of materials and standard components.

Although the relationships between the large military-industrial corporations are not altogether free of rivalry, the emphasis is on considering each other's interests, cooperation, group profit-boosting strategy, coordinated action and other forms of monopoly practice. The munitions industry of the United States and of its chief NATO partners is among the economic sectors with the highest level of monopolization. The leading arms corporations of the imperialist states constitute the economic, material and technical basis of the military-industrial complex, its nucleus being the alliance between arms corporations and the top military echelons of the state machinery.

The partnership between arms business and the military establishment is a unique phenomenon in the system of relations between monopolies and the state. In the leading capitalist countries no monopoly engaged in civilian production has such multiple and steady links with any division of the state machinery.

The above-mentioned alliance comprises, on the one hand, the leading arms corporations which, with their high level of production and capital concentration, function as a stable monopolistic entity, and, on the other, war departments with their rigid centralized structure, which are superior to the other government bodies in their position, leverage and scope of activity. The military and arms manufacturers maintain active partnership in the production, scientific, technical, financial, economic, administrative, organizational and other spheres, i.e., in whatever has to do with the fulfilment of government arms orders by the corporations. These links keep strengthening in the process of personnel rotation and through the agency of various associations uniting representatives from arms business and military quarters.

. . . for the Sake of Profit. . .

Numerous Western researches show that government arms orders bring the monopolies fabulous profits. Arms manufacturers making higher profits than civilian producers is regular practice. The level of profit in civilian branches can be regarded as the munitions industry's bottom. It is superprofits that give arms corporations monopolistic domination.

> **"If a military spending programme of unprecedented extravagance could be justified only by the most intensive campaign of deception and lies this nation has seen, and support for it only ensured by official coercion that holds every principle of democracy in contempt, all of it for an expansion of military power we do not even need, then why do we have it? We have it because it is profitable. It is more profitable than anything else. . . . Our security needs have never been the primary motive for America's singular role in the arms race profits have been. This is so evident that it is categorically denied."**
>
> **TOM GERVASI, a scholar (U.S.A.)**

This conclusion is borne out by the very logic of the munitions industry organization on the basis of capitalist property. It is precisely higher profit returned by arms manufacturing as compared with civilian production that provides the economic prerequisite for the emergence and development of capitalist enterprise in the munitions industry sphere. The military authorities of the NATO countries openly point to the stimulating effect of profits, to their importance in encouraging the private sector to intensify war preparations which siphon off resources from civilian production.

Profitability of the arms race is an important and politically significant aspect of the matter. It suggests that there

are social strata which batten on war and war preparations and derive economic benefits from militaristic policies. Such strata are found in the U.S.A. and other capitalist states—but not in the U.S.S.R. or elsewhere in the socialist world.

The partners of arms corporations in the state machinery are also interested in preserving and increasing military spending. This interest comes not merely from the high salaries, benefits and pensions the top officials of war departments get. There are ample indications that these officials also get a slice of the arms corporations' profits. Scandalous exposés of the last few years have shown the extent of corruption in the relationships between the partners in the military-industrial complex. Bribes (euphemistically called gifts and lecturers' fees) are offered, free pleasure jaunts and tourist trips arranged, and other services provided by arms manufacturers. Top war department officials are given lucrative posts in arms corporations upon retirement from office. What we have here is actually a system of intertwining economic interests of partners in the military-industrial complex—the interests of those whose incomes depend on the arms race and who derive profits and other direct and indirect benefits from the accelerated growth of militarism.

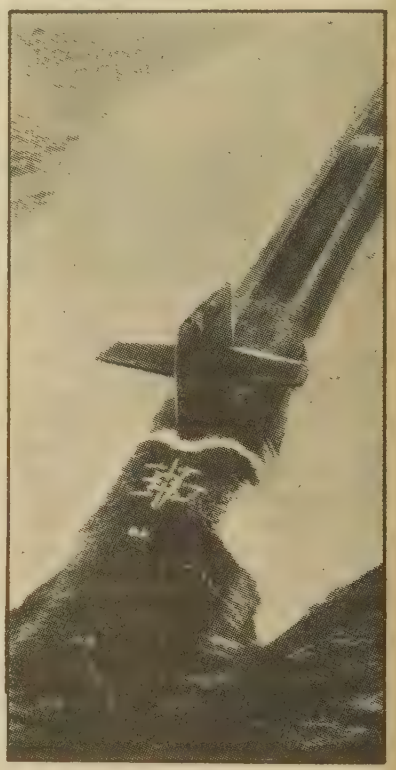
. . . and Power

The partnership between arms business and generals goes beyond the bounds of common economic interests, of course. They pursue, separately and together, far-reaching political aims, seek to gear government policy to the interests of the military-industrial complex, and strive for power. **The danger of the military-industrial complex lies in its political ambitions, in the role it plays in shaping the military and foreign policy of imperialist states.**

The links between arms corporations and the appropriate divisions of the state machinery are the strongest and the steadiest. But that is not all. Other divisions having to do with decision-making on military-economic and military-political matters are also involved in personnel rotation with the munitions industry. American surveys note the traditional contacts between arms manufacturers and the armed services and appropriations committees of U.S. Congress.

The military-industrial complex has strong propaganda backing in the West. In each NATO country there is a ramified network of links between the military-industrial elite, on the one hand, and the capitalist ideological apparatus, on the other, and its government and private divisions. This leads to the militarization of this apparatus and of the entire socio-political life in capitalist countries in general. The record of the military-industrial complex is not only that of carrying out programmes for the development of new weapon systems, but also that of invasion of the ideological sphere by militarism and using the mass media for the manipulation of public opinion. The 1980s have shown how effectively the military-industrial complexes can do that.

A characteristic feature of the military-industrial complex is that it broadly uses the latest in science and technology for military purposes, above all for the development of new-generation weapons and weapon systems. Science is being militarized in several ways. The arms corporations are expanding their research centres which work under contracts concluded with war departments. They enlist the cooperation of universities in military research and development. Besides, there are state research institutions specializing in weapon development. The military-industrial complex



The Pentagon today. The strategic triad—Trident submarines, MX missiles, B-1B bombers.

employs the best brains in science and technology. A continuous improvement of armaments and the need for high technology in their production have led to a sharp increase in government spending on military research and development and actually to a steady deformation of scientific and technological progress.

The military-industrial complexes of the U.S. and its NATO allies have the following features in common:

— a high degree of the concentration and monopolization of arms production, with relatively small groups of the biggest private, mixed and state-owned munitions companies predominating;

— partnership and multiple links (close personal relations and personnel rotation included) between the state, its military sectors above all, and the major producers of arms and combat equipment;

— a high degree of the militarization of science and an active use of the ideological apparatus, the mass media in particular, for militarist purposes;

— the existence of institutions, associations and other agencies ensuring permanent contacts and secret coordination of actions between the top men in arms corporations,

the heads of war departments and other government bodies, scientists, functionaries of state and private ideological institutions.

Dual Role

The activity of the military-industrial complex has two sides to it.

On the one hand, it carries out a **service function** as an instrument of the military-political course of imperialist countries.

On the other hand, the military-industrial complex has become a **factor of the militarization of capitalist society in its own right.** It is a special faction of the ruling class deriving substantial economic gains and advantages from the arms race and craving for political power.

The dual role of the military-industrial complex reflects the inner contradictions of this specific social phenomenon of modern capitalism. The role of the complex as an instrument of the entire ruling class manifests itself, above all, in the armed support of the exploitative order, in suppressing popular protest by force. But beyond this (which is a matter of cardinal importance) the activity of the military-industrial complex loses much of its distinctly class character and transforms into the pursuance of narrow selfish interests. As a military force geared to external clashes, the complex serves the interests of the more aggressive quarters of monopoly capitalism rather than those of the entire ruling class.

The understanding of the internal contradictions of the military-industrial complex makes it possible, first, to assess more realistically the forces that stand behind the hypertrophied and excessive militarism of the U.S. and NATO (even as compared with the needs of the ruling class) and, second, the possibility of overcoming their resistance in the fight against the arms race.

It would be wrong, however, to overestimate the importance of the military-industrial complex and to ascribe to it alone the stepped-up adventurism of the policy pursued by Washington and its NATO partners. At the same time, it would be dangerous to go to the other extreme and to underestimate the pernicious role the complex plays today when it is vital to prevent new arms spirals and to go over to real disarmament. The military-industrial complex comes out as the main obstacle in this important effort—part of the overall struggle for peace and international security.

The record of the 1980s provides convincing evidence of the military-industrial complex having an ever greater influence on policy-making in the leading capitalist countries, the U.S. especially.

In the U.S.A. the development of links and partnership between arms corporations and the state authorities, the use of the ideological apparatus and science for military purposes proceeded more intensively after the war than in other capitalist countries. As a result, the influence of the military-industrial complex on the economy and politics is especially manifest there.

It is worth noting here the national traits characteristic of the military-industrial complex and closely connected with other national specifics of the development of state-monopoly capitalism. The components, scope and influence of the complex under concrete conditions are distinguished by certain specific features and reflect the policy of the given country and the interaction between domestic and international factors.

For all its peculiarities in this or that imperialist country the military-industrial complex has become an inalienable element of the state-monopoly structure in all of them. The functioning of a powerful permanent militaristic grouping of the ruling class certainly has its political consequences because the complex exists and operates in the system of interrelations with other groupings. These links bear direct relation to its political leverage.

It is not only a matter of the military-industrial complex's programme of stepping up militarism, aggravating the international situation and opposing arms limitation and reduction talks being ideologically attractive to the extreme right forces in the U.S. and its main NATO partners. The complex is becoming a centre of attraction for other reactionary forces and associations which increasingly rely on it politically and economically. Consequently, the military-industrial complex has come to be a serious factor of the strengthening of the ultra-right flank of the political front in the U.S.A. and other NATO countries.

In pursuance of its militaristic programmes the complex teams up with other factions of the ruling class, first of all with the transnational corporations the activity of which is the most striking manifestation of the expansionist ambitions of monopoly capitalism. This explains why the transnationals are interested in the militaristic policy. They need militarism as a state guarantee of economic expansion, as a means of keeping their multi-billion profits returned by their investments abroad. Washington officially admits the connection between militarism and expansion. The drafts of the federal budget submitted by the Administration to Congress in the 1980s list "protection of U.S. economic interests abroad" and "maintenance of access to critical resources" among the objectives of "national defence."

Besides, the major contractors of the war departments are transnational companies themselves. This is evidenced by their international operations in the civil sphere as part of a developed diversification of production, by their participation in arms export, in buying and selling licences for the manufacture of arms and combat equipment, in arms co-

> **"Military appropriations are the single most important source of investment and profit for corporate America."**
>
> **MICHAEL PARENTI, a historian (U.S.A.)**

production schemes, in selling services involved in arms deliveries abroad. The fulfilment of government arms orders is becoming ever more closely intertwined with capitalist enterprise on the international scale.

Militarism is striking ever deeper root, so to say, in the Western business world. Arms contractors are among the biggest industrial companies, as a rule. Their bids for large arms orders are backed by all their assets, their overall influence in business and political quarters.

What's more, the possibility of launching campaigns in support of militaristic programmes is ensured by the very structure of arms business. This structure is characterized by a far-flung network of subcontract relations and of the appropriate economic interests. The general contractor firms engaged in the development and production of sophisticated and costly weapon systems are connected with thousands of subcontractors and suppliers enlisted in the fulfilment of government orders.

Drawn into war preparations, the businesses of the industrialized capitalist countries specializing in the production of components and materials find themselves dependent on the leading arms manufacturers for orders. This, of course, is a powerful lever in the hands of arms corporations. They use it to draw medium and small companies into the propaganda and lobbying activity for the state funding of new militaristic projects. The medium and small companies often become obedient tools of the military-industrial complex, especially at the local level, in constituencies, when it is necessary to obtain votes for the nominees of the complex or to organize "pressure from below" in support of certain military programmes.

A Realistic Alternative

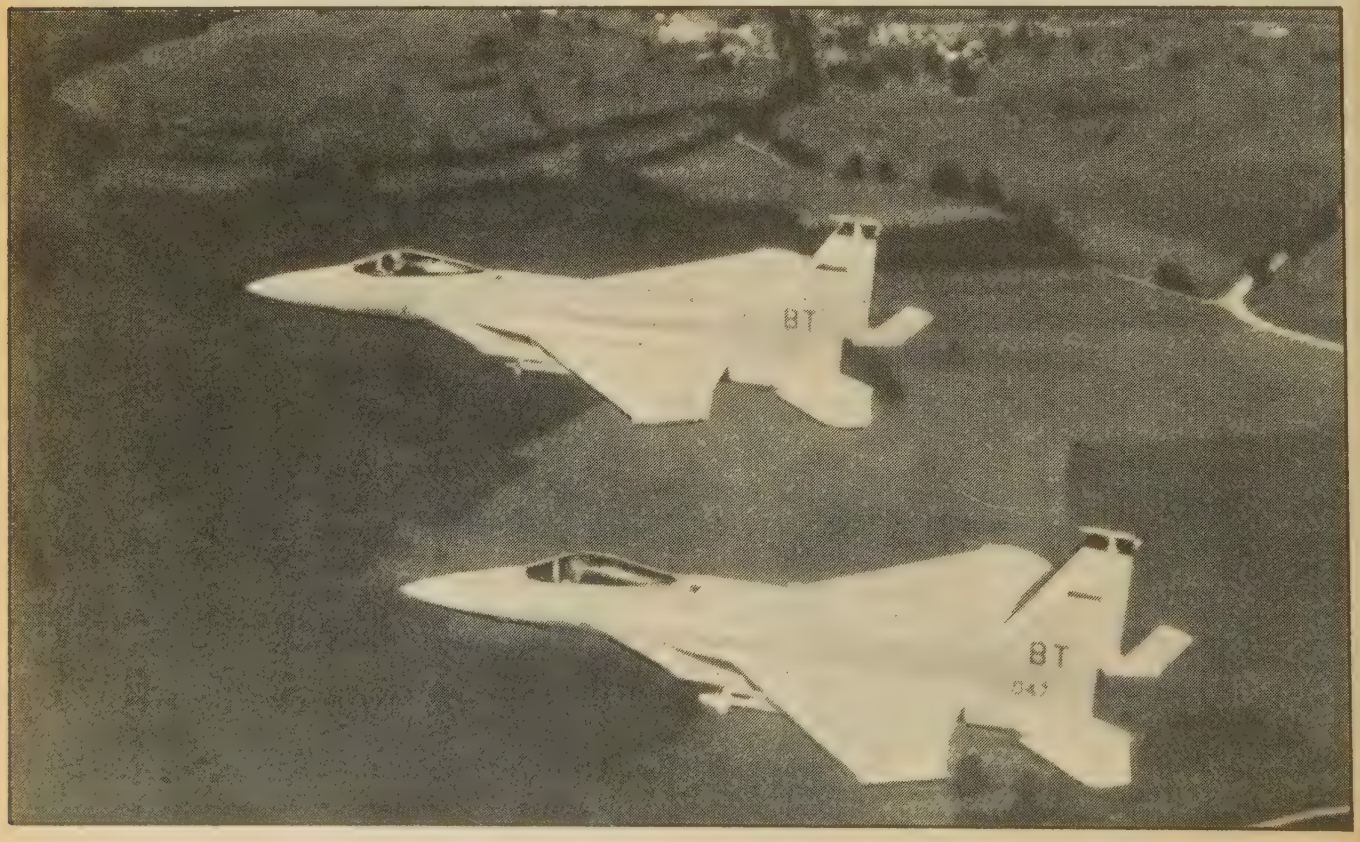
The record of the U.S.A. and other NATO countries shows that the influence of the military-industrial complex, especially in the political sphere, is by no means absolute. It has been proved on many occasions that this influence can be countered.

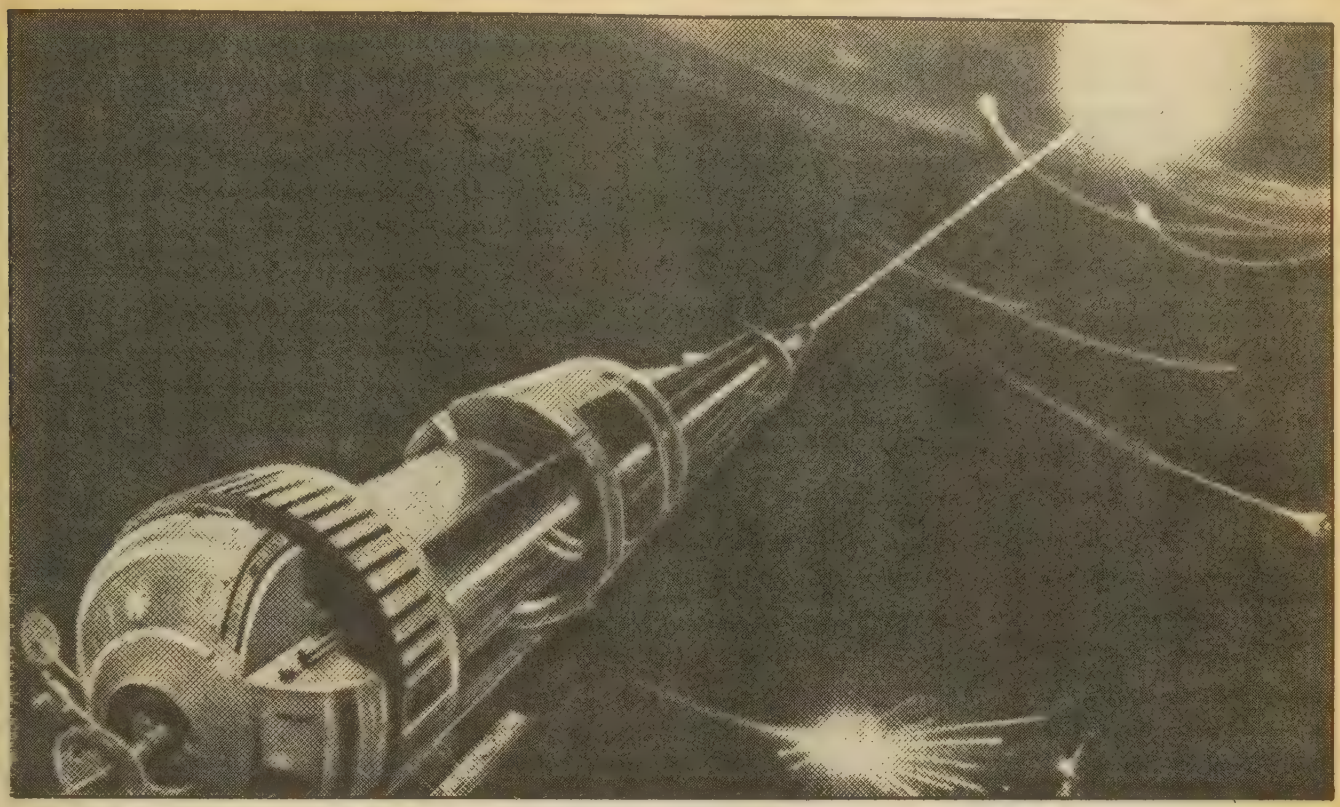
In the early 1970s the U.S. military-industrial complex came under heavy fire and had to take the defensive all along the line as a result of the activization of democratic forces caused by the dirty war in Vietnam and by the aggravation of the socio-economic problems of capitalism due to stepped-up militarization. The complex was forced to loosen its grip. This found its reflection not only in the stabilization but even in a relative reduction of the country's military spending. Fresh intensification of militarism in the U.S.A. in the 1980s shows that the military-industrial complex has taken the counteroffensive in an attempt to destroy the progress made towards détente and cooperation between countries with different social systems. "The U.S.A., its military-industrial machine remains the locomotive of militarism, for so far it has no intention of slowing down," the 27th Congress of the CPSU pointed out. "This has to be taken into consideration, of course. But we are well aware that the interests and aims of the military-industrial complex are not at all the same as the interests and aims of the American people, as the actual national interests of that great country." Facts show that an undivided sway of the military-industrial complex is not a fatal inevitability. The extent of the real power gained by the complex depends on its own activity and on the strength of resistance to it, as also on the progress of socio-political struggle influenced, in turn, by the overall balance of forces in the modern world and by the intensity of anti-militaristic sentiment and action on national and international scale.

An analysis of various aspects of the activity of the military-industrial complexes in the U.S.A. and its NATO partners shows that, owing to the narrow class character of these groupings and to the ever more vigorous action by the socio-political forces opposed to them, capitalist society can be forced to reduce the sphere of militarization and the extent to which manpower, material and financial resources are used for military purposes. It is necessary to show that demilitarization of capitalist society on a wide scale is possible and feasible in principle.

Such demilitarization under pressure from anti-war forces and on the basis of international agreements in the sphere of disarmament cannot be regarded as a challenge to the capitalist system with its property relations and political institutions. Hypertrophied militarism is not a natural and

The Pentagon tomorrow: F-15 aircraft fitted with ASAT systems...

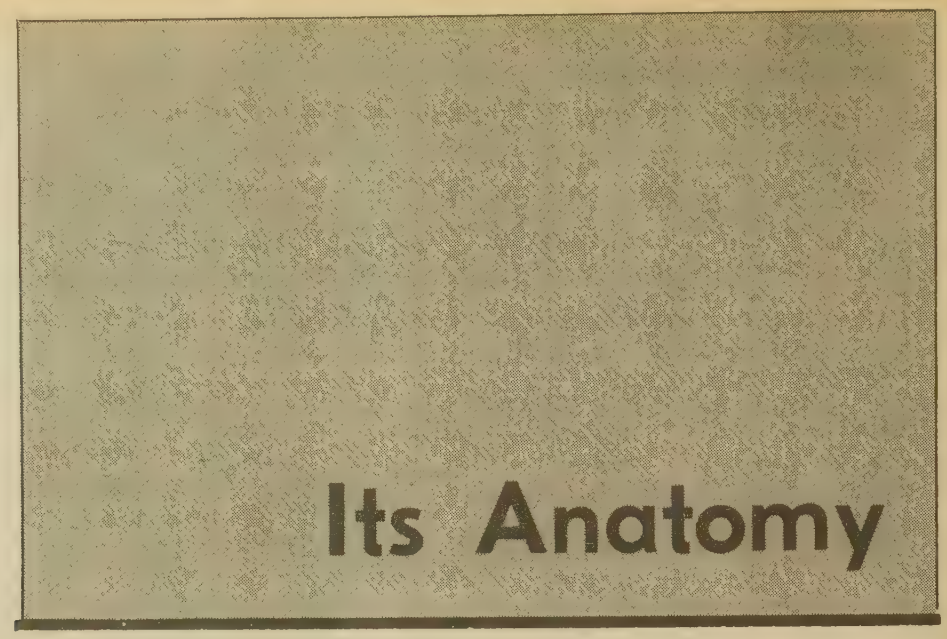




...and the day after tomorrow: a component of space strike system (an artist's impression). Taxes in the U.S. will skyrocket, and monopolies' profits will assume astronomic proportions. And what is mankind in for!

eternal attribute of capitalism. A look at the capitalist world will show that the degree of militarization of national policy and of the national economy differs strikingly from country to country within it. Besides, in the capitalist countries there are groupings which have little or nothing to do with arms business, and, therefore, take a sober-minded view of the consequences of unrestrained militarism. The super-profits made by arms corporations often bring upon the military-industrial complex criticism on the part of capitalist leaders and groups demanding that war preparations be curtailed.

The struggle for the demilitarization of capitalist society is a challenge to super-militarism born of narrow class and group interests and aspirations which permeate the entire activity of the military-industrial complex and other extreme-right factions of the ruling class of imperialist states. This anti-militarism constitutes a truly democratic alternative to the imperialist policy of adventurism and aggression, an alternative which meets the interests not only of popular masses but also of the capitalist quarters alert to the danger of nuclear holocaust and taking a realistic stand on issues of war and peace. The fight against super-militarism, to end the arms race, for disarmament is a mass form of protest, a large-scale general democratic movement. ■



The Death Merchants

Who are the people who have made the manufacture of the weapons of violence and death their business? What real strength do they possess? What place do they occupy in the economic structure of the imperialist powers?

The death merchants—those who in the early 20th century were called cannon and dynamite kings—today run the aircraft, nuclear-missile, and electronics empires. They are the elite of arms business, a relatively small group of major corporations in the U.S. and other leading NATO members which have monopolized military production: 20-25 monopolies in the U.S.A. and 10-15 in Britain, the F.R.G. and France each, annually get between 40 and 70 per cent of the government military orders, and have invariably topped the lists of military suppliers, with tens of thousands of industrial firms as subcontractors.

The elite controls the production of practically all sophisticated and costly types and systems of weapons and military equipment many of which are manufactured exclusively by one or two corporations. In the United States, for instance, the building of nuclear missile-carrying submarines is fully in the hands of General Dynamics; the production of strategic bombers has been monopolized by Rockwell International and Northrop, and of aircraft and rocket engines by General Electric and United Technologies. In Britain, all combat aircraft are manufactured by British Aerospace, and big guns and small arms by Royal Ordnance. In France, Aerospatiale and Dassault-Breguet fully control the manufacture of combat helicopters while SNECMA accounts for most of the aircraft engines output.

Enjoying a monopoly, arms manufacturers can dictate their terms to the government and get substantial privileges from them. No wonder, the elite is clinging to its monopoly. It is doing everything to keep newcomers out of this exclusive "club."

The members of this club hold command positions not only in arms business, but in the monopoly capital setup in general. They are invariably among the top 100-200 industrial corporations in their countries in terms of the volume of assets and sales. Such monopolies as General Motors, General Electric, Westinghouse Electric, IBM and Chrysler (U.S.), General Electric and Thorn EMI (Britain), Siemens, Daimler-Benz and AEG/Telefunken (F.R.G.) are among the giants of capitalist industry. It is not only the costly militaristic programmes that are sustained by the huge financial and economic might of the arms corporations. They also sponsor political campaigns in support of the arms race.

The leading arms corporations today are as a rule diversified, combining both military and civilian production. However, arms manufacture is a decisive or essential area of their activity, often determining their economic position. This makes them directly dependent on the level of military spending and interested in larger militaristic programmes. Deriving profit from arms manufacture is one of the main goals of these corporations, and, moreover, a way to survival against competition from various groups of monopoly capital.

This applies first and foremost to the

Table 1

TOP PENTAGON SUPPLIERS
Place occupied in volume of government military orders

Contractor	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
McDonnell Douglas	4	2	1	2	2	1	1
General Dynamics	6	1	3	1	1	3	2
Rockwell International	—	14	16	8	3	2	3
Lockheed	1	6	6	5	6	4	6
Boeing	2	4	7	6	5	5	5
General Electric	7	5	4	4	4	6	4
Hughes	9	7	7	7	9	7	8
United Technologies	3	3	2	3	7	8	7
Raytheon	11	8	8	9	10	9	9
Litton Industries	8	20	11	15	13	10	19
Grumman	5	10	9	11	11	11	10

Table 2

DIVISION OF LABOUR
What the leading corporations produce:

	U.S.A.
General Dynamics	Fighters, carrier-rockets, spacecraft, submarines, warships, electronic gear, tanks.
McDonnell Douglas	Fighters, assault aircraft, military transport planes, spacecraft, cruise missile guidance systems, electronic gear.
Lockheed	Military transport planes, special-purpose planes, missile systems, spacecraft, warships, fire control systems, radars.
Boeing	Military transport planes, helicopters, missile systems, electronic gear, spacecraft, cruise missiles.
	BRITAIN
British Aerospace	Fighters, assault aircraft, missile systems, spacecraft.
General Electric	Electronic gear, torpedoes, radars, electric motors, warships.
	F.R.G.
MBB (Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm)	Warplanes, helicopters, missile systems, spacecraft, warships, tanks, communication systems, ammunition.
Siemens	Electronic gear, radar equipment, guidance systems, communication systems.
	FRANCE
Aerospatiale	Warplanes, helicopters, missile systems, spacecraft.
Thomson	Electronic gear, radar equipment, hydroacoustics equipment, guidance systems, missile complexes.
Dassault-Bréguet	Fighters, assault aircraft.

industrial companies in which military production outweighs civilian production.

Some leading suppliers are less tied to arms business, their share of military sales amounting to a few per cent (2.9 per cent for IBM, under 1 per cent for General Motors, 7 per cent for Siemens, and 3 per cent for Thorn EMI). But their military output is huge in absolute terms. For example, in 1980-85 General Electric received Pentagon orders worth almost $24 billion. Besides, these corporations are often the sole manufacturers of some modern weapons systems.

As the American economist Richard Kaufman writes in his book "War Profiteers," whether military orders account for 5 or 50 per cent of the total sales, they remain an essential part of business, which the firm advances and fosters in every way. The company probably exerts greater efforts to get more military orders than to expand civilian sales because military production is in many respects more profitable, less vulnerable to competition and manageable through the Washington lobby. As if to prove these words, many industrial giants have energetically expanded their military production in the past few years. They acted promptly buying up entire military-industrial companies. The buying of Hughes, RCA and Gulfstream Aerospace by General Motors, General Electric and Chrysler in the United States, and of Dornier and MTU firms by Daimler-Benz in the F.R.G. are among the recent examples of striking deeper root in military business. The firms taken over possess large scientific and technological potential and experience in fulfilling sophisticated missile and aerospace projects.

What attracts private capital to military business?

First of all, the exceptional profitability as revealed by the studies of the financial and economic position of the arms suppliers in the NATO countries. In the U.S. in the early 1980s the profit per dollar invested by the military-industrial corporations was more than 70 per cent higher than that of companies producing consumer durables.

The rate of profit derived by military suppliers is even higher if calculated as a ratio of its mass to their advance capital. In the United States at the start of the 1980s it stood at an average 23.3 per cent (and for the ten leading Pentagon contractors as high as 25 per cent) which is over 100 per cent higher than the similar index for civilian firms.

One of the reasons for the high return on every dollar, mark, pound or franc invested in military production also lies in active government participation in the formation of the fixed and circulating capital of the arms corporations. In the U.S.A. 80 to 90 per cent of the current spending of these corporations is regularly covered from federal sources. The leading West German arms manufacturers also get government financial injections: in many of them the share of their own capital was only 8-15 per cent in recent years. A similar situation obtains in France, where, according to the economist Pierre Dussauge, "the share of self-financing in military programmes is often very low; research in this area is widely subsidized by the state, and development and investment in production are subsidized almost entirely by the chief armaments board."

A further incentive for businessmen to go into military production is provided by large tax rebates. Now that the ruling circles of the leading NATO countries stimulate private capital by cutting taxes, the military-industrial monopolies are in an advantageous position. With the per-

Table 3

MILITARY SALES IN PER CENT OF TOTAL

U.S.A. (1984)		F.R.G. (1983)		Britain (1981)	
McDonnell Douglas	69	MBB	56	British Aerospace	35
General Dynamics	86	AEG/Telefunken	18	Ferranti	48
Rockwell International	63	Krauss-Maffei	84	General Electric	12
Lockheed	85				
Boeing	42	MTU	74	Plessey	18
Hughes	66				
Raytheon	49	Blöhm und Voss	70	Racal Electronics	12
Litton Industries	41	Dornier	62		
Grumman	82	Rheinmetall	33		
Northrop	84	Krupp	57		
		MAN	8		

Table 4

PROFITS

In 1983 alone total profits of the top Pentagon suppliers from military sales exceeded $3.6 billion

Supplier	Profits ($mln)
General Dynamics	382
McDonnell Douglas	325
Rockwell International	498
Boeing	787
Lockheed	572
Raytheon	340
Grumman	108
Martin-Marietta	176
Litton Industries	277
Northrop	167

mission of the government bodies many of them have managed not only substantially to reduce the amount of taxes but also to dodge paying them. As many as 65 leading Pentagon suppliers were exempt from taxes in 1981-83.

The growing profitability of military production is also due to early depreciation of the fixed assets, priority supply of scarce materials to military industries, their right to a gratis use of the results of government-financed research and development, and other privileges.

The arms manufacturers, however, are not content with "legalized" profits. They are not above swindles. McDonnell Douglas, Rockwell International, Boeing, General Electric, United Technologies, Litton Industries and other U.S. corporations are particularly inventive in this respect. Forty-five leading Pentagon contractors have been accused of illegal overstatement of their costs, faking financial claims, bribery, the use of substandard and low-quality products, and other abuses.

General Dynamics has outdone everyone in this respect. It has managed to cheat the government treasury of nearly $250 million. Scandal follows scandal. The company admits to malpractices only to go on and perpetrate more. In 1985, during an investigation into its crimes it presented $7.5 million worth of faked bills. General Dynamics managed to get from the Pentagon nearly $680,000 (the established sum alone) to pay for presents or, more exactly, bribes to Admiral Hyman Rickover on whom getting orders for nuclear-powered submarines depended to a great extent. The corporation tried to make its customers pay the membership dues of its executives in country clubs, their expenses for using planes for personal needs, for picnics, and even for the keeping of a pedigree dog of one of its bosses. This was outrageous even by Washington standards, and "punishment" was administered in due course. Defence Secretary Weinberger himself declared that deals with General Dynamics would be suspended. A month or two later, however, the ban was lifted. Why? Because, according to Senator William Proxmire, "major defence contractors like the General Dynamics Corp. have so much leverage against the government that they can flout the laws and regulations."

The "star wars" programme holds out a promise of truly astronomical profits for the arms manufacturers. "For over 30 years the military concerns have lived off materiel deliveries to the nuclear ground, naval and air forces," West German magazine Spiegel notes. "Those who are now lifting up strategy, i.e., spreading it to outer space, will get orders for the next 30 years without the need to change the type and structure of their production."

The military "breakthrough into outer space" is spearheaded by the selfsame Lockheed, Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, Rockwell International, Litton Industries and other leading Pentagon contractors. They are drawing many new industrial companies in and outside the U.S.A. into this programme as subcontractors. At the same time they are using their connections in the state machinery and their "infrastructure" for influencing the federal government and Congress to make the militarization of outer space irreversible.

Former U.S. President Carter knew what he was talking about when he said there was no doubt that it was the U.S. arms manufacturers that kept the arms race going.

■

The Brass Hats

Along with arms manufacturers, brass hats are the main force in the military-industrial complex that inculcates militarism and anti-communism. Several reasons account for the influence professional militarists have on the policy of the U.S. and its NATO partners. First, in the system of capitalist government institutions the defence ministries are the largest in terms of the resources used and the scope of their activities. Second, generals and admirals hold many key posts in governments and parliaments, and have contacts with industrialists. In addition, their own careers and personal well-being are linked with military programmes. Chances of promotion and prospects of getting a comfortable perch after retirement usually depend on how actively the general promotes the interests of the war department and arms business. This applies first and foremost to those who are in charge of military purchases within the North Atlantic alliance, who have the final say in placing orders and negotiating the terms of contracts. For them the road to the top echelons of power is paved with new military programmes, orders and contacts with arms manufacturers.

According to the Time magazine, one of the ways to secure promotion in the armed forces is to foster some weapon system and carry the project through. The careers of officers in charge of purchases, the Newsweek writes, "are advanced far more by acquiring weapons systems than by killing projects."

It is the officials of the arms purchas-

ing agencies who choose contractors and draw up contracts, which makes them particularly attractive to arms manufacturers. They are the most frequent recipients of all sorts of presents and pay-offs and special entertainments. They are promised—and usually given—posts of directors or vice-directors, heads of branches and consultants in military-industrial corporations, with salaries substantially higher than in civilian firms (by 50 per cent in the U.S., for instance).

Another numerous group of professional militarists whose careers depend on their ability to carry through arms development programmes and enlist government financial support for them are heads of projects and their staff. Bringing a programme through even if it is outdated is a highly prized skill. A manager in a general's uniform who proves that he would do anything for the success of "his" programme is rewarded by a comfortable post in the war department or a tempting offer from a corporation.

The meteoric rise of Lieutenant General James Abrahamson of U.S. Air Force is an example in point: he was head of the F-16 fighter programme for the West European NATO countries, then director of the Space Shuttle programme, and is now director of the Strategic Defence Initiative. It was not by chance that the White House put its stake on Abrahamson when it looked for a candidate to promote "star wars" programme in Congress, in the government and in the Pentagon (for even there doubts have been voiced about the feasibility and expediency of President Reagan's initiative).

Even the generals who at first glance are far removed from arms manufacture and the profits it spells, who head military units, groups and commands, have a stake in carrying out new militarist programmes. Their promotion often depends on how successful they are in procuring modern weapons for their units. Arms manufacturers constantly woo their customers; they organize exhibitions and deliver lectures on research that could lead to fundamentally new types of weapons.

Virtually all the generals holding key posts in the military departments in NATO countries are in one way or another linked with arms corporations. Every year a lot of retired officers employed in the military departments get posts in the military industry. In the current decade the number of such transfers has increased compared with the 1970s or 1960s. In 1983-84 alone about 6,000 Pentagon employees moved to highly paid jobs in military-industrial corporations. In their new jobs, over 20 per cent of them deal with the same problems as in the Defence Department. Nearly half of these retirees maintain contacts with their former colleagues helping their new masters to place profitable military orders and find loopholes in arms purchase regulations. A similar situation prevails in other NATO countries. In Britain, for example, more than 1,800 former servicemen joined the military business in 1981-84.

The personal ties between the top military and the corporations lead to corruption and bigger profits obtained by the firms. In this the Pentagon plays no small part. Its officials, as was revealed recently, diligently bought nuts at $150 apiece, hammers at $406, percolators at $7,622, etc. They looked away as firms overstated the costs of military orders and paid dubious bills presented by the suppliers. An average of 37 per cent of the bills paid by the U.S. arms purchasing bodies are qualified by government controllers as "incorrect." According to some Western journalists, these machinations result in the waste of almost $20 billion every year. The International Herald Tribune noted wryly that it is hard to say what is worse: extortionist contractors or the Administration which connives at them.

Lieutenant General James Abrahamson of U.S. Air Force has extensive experience heading modern weapons projects of the Pentagon. No wonder he has been entrusted with President Reagan's pet child—Strategic Defence Initiative. The general made a successful tour selling SDI to NATO allies and Japan which earned him the favour of the Administration.

The top military help to consolidate the forces within the military-industrial complex. The professional associations set up under its auspices (like the associations of military-industrial firms) unite career officers, industrialists, leading scientists engaged in military re-

The biggest professional military associations in the United States are the 200,000-strong American Air Force Association, the 120,000-strong Army Association, and the 45,000-strong Navy League. This not to speak of a number of smaller associations, such as Marine Corps League, and others.

In the F.R.G. professional military associations include the Air Force Society and the Friends of the Army Club.

Britain also has a network of military clubs.

search and representatives of the government and ideological institutions. These associations draw up the strategy of militarizing various aspects of social and political life and help to enhance the influence of the military-industrial complex.

■

Militarists in Mufti

A large group within the military-industrial complex consists of government officials closely linked and co-operating with the arms corporations, the top brass and other militarist forces in the West.

Militarism has penetrated deep into the state machinery of the NATO countries, especially the United States. The growing militarization of the state machinery and the "power-oriented" thinking of many officials have led Richard J. Barnet, an American political scientist, to conclude that the chief militarists in America wear civilian clothes. They are civilians in anything but their views. They develop the various aspects of the present Washington policy. They stand at its helm steering the U.S. ship of state along a course most favourable to the aggressive groupings within the ruling class.

Militarists in civvies are at the head of the Pentagon. Historically, the U.S. Defence Secretary, his deputies and assistants and the secretaries of the armed services have all been civilians invested with the formal duty to control the actions of the generals. But this is only the appearance. In reality, they are all in the same harness. Their shared interests, in which greed and political ambitions merge together, refute the capitalist propaganda thesis that the military are under "strict civilian control."

The 1980s have provided new arguments denying this claim. The Reagan Administration, says John Galbraith, an influential American economist, has given up any attempts to control the Pentagon by offering the key posts in the Defence Department to men of arms manufacturing firms or to the protégés of their Washington representatives or lobbyists, now politely called consultants. This is not civilian control, but a highly perverted management of the military-industrial complex by the military-industrial complex, and for the military-industrial complex.

Civilian militarists are, as a rule, promoted by monopoly capital. The pioneer in this field was General Motors president Charles Wilson who became Defence Secretary under President Eisenhower. Subsequently, the post was held by a succession of trusted men of the military business.

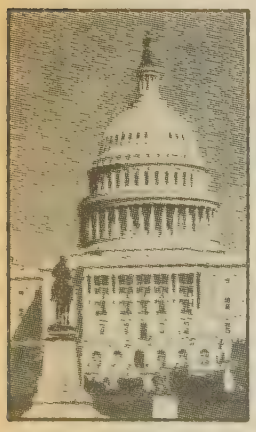
In sending their representatives to the Pentagon, the arms manufacturers get a say in the drafting and execution of the military budget and in the placing of orders. Thus, by sending T. Jones (deputy defence undersecretary for research and engineering), and Melvyn Paisley (assistant secretary of the navy), to the Defence Department and paying them handsome retirement allowances, the Boeing corporation managed to increase its military orders from $2.4 billion in 1980 to $5.5 billion in 1985. Boeing could have obtained more orders but for the competition of rival businesses which also put their men in key positions in the Pentagon. Incidentally, in the last ten years almost 400 Boeing executives moved to take posts in the Defence Department. It is not hard to guess whose interests they continue to serve.

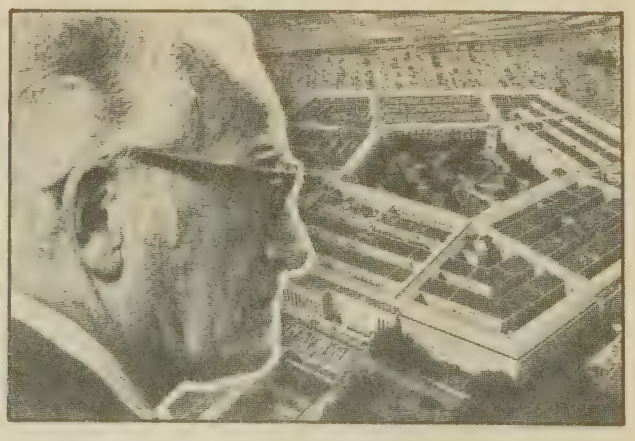
The military corporations, for their part, willingly offer important posts to retired generals and to high-ranking civilians from the Pentagon and other federal departments in reward for services rendered. Thus, General Dynamics invited former Secretary of the Navy Edward Hidalgo as a paid legal consultant. In 1978 Hidalgo signed an agreement under which the corporation was paid $642 million, part of this sum on faked bills. Many are hired on the strength of their ties and experience with an eye to the future. "All too often these Defence Department officials fulfil the public's low expectations [of the Pentagon and military business—**Ed.**] by leaving government to work for the defence firms they were supposed to regulate," Senator William Proxmire noted.

To curtail abuses some legislators tried to introduce regulations to control the hiring of such persons by the arms suppliers. But the Reagan Administration intervened. The President stated in his message to Congress: "If citizens from the private sector who participate in the conduct of government are unfairly prohibited from returning to their livelihood, it will not be just their willingness to serve that will suffer. The nation will suffer as well." The head of the Administration which relies on the military-industrial complex and upholds its interests urged

Since President Reagan proclaimed Strategic Defence Initiative in 1983 the political action committees, speaking for big military corporations interested in "star wars" contracts, have contributed almost $6 million to the election funds of Congressmen.

Data of the Council on Economic Priorities (U.S.A.)





Senator Barry Goldwater. Always responsive to the Pentagon's requests.

the legislators "not to act in these important areas." He also urged them not "to add new laws that would restrict the authority of the Secretary of Defence to hire and retain the high quality of personnel needed to administer the Department of Defence's acquisition programme."

The legislators who constantly vote for arms programmes and other decisions favourable to the military-industrial complex can also be considered militarists in civvies.

It is not without the efforts of such legislators that the U.S. military budget has been unprecedentedly inflated and arms manufacture has become superlucrative investment. "I think if you tell us your needs, we would like to be responsive to them," Representative Robert Daniel assured the commander of the Marine Corps. This is a sort of credo of the legislators, who have common interests with the arms manufacturers and generals.

At present some 40 committees and subcommittees of Congress deal with the buildup of armaments and the strengthening of ties with NATO allies. The key role is played by four of them: the Senate and House armed services and appropriations committees which decide on the start and end of military programmes and their financing. Senator Daniel P. Moynihan once noted that anyone watching the activity of the U.S. government knows that any agency wishing to succeed in the executive branch of power enlists a couple of committees in the legislative branch on its side. The above four committees act as "charities" for the Pentagon. Membership in these committees is coveted by legislators with special interests in military business or the Defence Department. As a rule, they manage to get in. Incidentally, many of them represent states and constituencies where the main arms manufacturing industries are situated.

Washington trio of militarists in civvies: Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger, previously director of the Bechtel Corporation; Navy Secretary John Lehman, former owner of the Abington firm which acted as consultant to Pentagon contractors; Assistant Defence Secretary Richard Perle, former Abington employee. It is an aggressive trio, especially when the current programmes of modernizing the U.S. superarsenals are criticized.

What fuels the bellicose sentiments of many legislators?

There are several such incentives. The first one is greed. A phrase current in American political jargon says: "I have nothing to sell but my influence." Legislators are only too willing to do that. According to some estimates, the influence of these "servants of the people" costs American business and various interested organizations more than one billion dollars a year. (Of course, not all of them get into the pockets of hawkish Congressmen.) The buyers are all groups of monopoly capital. But the arms manufacturers act with the greatest sweep, partly because the resources used for lobbying are often entered into estimates of military orders.

The backing of militarist programmes is well paid for. The Congressmen who act for Boeing, General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas, for Lockheed and United Technologies are regularly presented with expensive gifts and handsome fees for specially arranged lectures. Leading suppliers of the Pentagon use so-called political action committees to finance the election campaigns of many legislators. According to the New York Times, during the Reagan presidency, 20 major arms corporations have doubled their donations to the election funds of Congressmen who actively promote their interests. The ultimate source of all these payoffs are profits from military orders.

Corruption among legislators is not only a U.S. phenomenon. Arms manufacturers in Britain, the F.R.G., France and Italy are dramatically increasing their spending on similar gifts. Many arms suppliers (Plessey, European Ferries and others) have increased their donations to the British Conservative Party's funds by more than 100 per cent. The West German military-industrial concerns MBB and Daimler-Benz have donated generously to the forthcoming campaign of the CDU/CSU.

Over 77 per cent of the orders under the SDI programme have been placed since 1983 with enterprises situated in areas which have their representatives in at least one body responsible for the distribution of these orders: the House Armed Services Committee or the House defence appropriations subcommittee under the House Committee on Appropriations. On the average, the states which have their representatives there have received six times more appropriations under the SDI programme than other states.

Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

According to the Los Angeles Times, the pressure of the military industry on Congress is mounting and becoming more refined. Indicatively, the lobby of the military companies in Washington began to swell rapidly immediately after the Reagan Administration advanced its programme for the "rearmament" of America.

Lust for gain is a powerful but not the only stimulus for the legislators to advocate military programmes. Their militarist stand is the result of concerted pressure by the arms manufacturers, the generals, the reactionary ideologists and other right-wing forces. To persuade the legislators that such and such a programme is necessary, pressure is brought to bear and media campaigns sponsored. Prepared letters from voters and telephone calls are used to win over the legislators. Lobbyists bend over backwards organizing personal meetings, enlisting experts paid by the military firms, and using the results of military studies financed by the monopolies. The pressure becomes particularly powerful when issues of interest to the military-industrial complex are being decided in Congress or parliament.

Militarists in civvies who are not directly linked with military or arms manufacturing activities often vaunt their "neutrality" with regard to military preparations and try to serve themselves to the public as objective, unbiassed, and independent of the military-industrial complex. They remain in the shadows, and that makes them particularly dangerous.

■

Science Against Man

The 20th century has seen imperialism using the most daring achievements of the human genius for military purposes, for the development of weapons of an enormous devastating power. Scientific and technological progress has been increasingly dehumanized and misshaped over the past decades. The militarization of science has become the main direction of war preparations in the West.

In the United States the spending on military research and development (R&D) has almost doubled since 1980. The major West European countries have also substantially increased their expenditure for this purpose. Yet the Americans are outspending their main NATO partners more than three times. All in all, the leading NATO countries which have strong and influential military-industrial complexes account for roughly 95 per cent of the capitalist world's aggregate spending on military R&D.

What is the ratio between the funding of military and civilian research by the state? In the U.S.A., for instance, the share of expenditure on military R&D in the total federal outlays on science rose from 45 per cent in 1976 to almost 70 per cent in 1985, whereas the figure for France and Britain today is about 50 per cent. More than one dollar out of every three spent by the public and private sectors on science in the U.S.A. goes into military R&D, and the situation is roughly the same in Britain and France. In the early 1980s federal spending on "civilian" science in the United States was cut by 30 per cent as part of the overall reductions in appropriations for federal socio-economic programmes.

The militarization of science has led to the squandering of the intellectual potential of mankind: one out of every four research workers in the world today is to some extent involved in military programmes. The United States is firmly in the lead in this respect.

Studies done in the U.S.A. indicate that 20 to 30 per cent of all the American scientists and engineers take part in the fulfilment of government military orders, and the figure is even higher in individual industries: 60 per cent of the engineers in the aerospace and 35 per cent in the radioelectronics industry. More than half of the research staff of the federal institutions are engaged in fulfilling military contracts. The research and development costs per unit of output are 20 times higher in the war industry than in civilian production. The worker per scientist/engineer ratio in the war industry is 100 to 7.4 and in the other manufacturing industries 100 to 1. The tendency for the growth of science inputs into military production is characteristic of the other NATO countries as well. Research and development accounts for 15-20 per cent of the annual production costs of the leading French military-industrial corporations, whereas the figure for the other industries averages less than 3 per cent.

More and more research centres and laboratories are becoming involved in the fulfilment of government military orders. Alongside large military-industrial companies and state-run military research centres, which are mainly engaged in this work in the leading NATO countries, universities and independent research organizations also contribute to it. They already account for up to one half of fundamental research under the Pentagon's orders in the U.S.A. Spending for this purpose has more than doubled in the past ten years to reach about $1 billion a year. Universities are growing dependent on military agencies for funds and equipment. In 1983 the U.S. Department of Defence approved a five-year $150 million programme for the material supply of military research covering 152 institutions of higher learning in 47 states.

Weapons systems of new types, such as space strike weapons under the Strategic Defence Initiative announced by President Reagan on March 23, 1983, are being speedily developed. SDI is being touted as an "anti-missile shield," but in reality it is launching an arms race on earth and in outer space for decades to come, making that race virtually uncontrollable and destabilizing the military-strategic situation in the world. The "shield" is conceived as consisting of hundreds of combat "star wars" complexes. Atomic reactors

deployed either in outer space or on earth will be needed to power them. Spending on R&D in atomic power sources under the SDI programme is expected to run into almost $4.5 billion by 1991. J. Hirsch, head of the programme for nuclear policy studies at the University of California, complained that the authorities had promised that the "star wars" programme would not be nuclear and that its systems would not be in U.S. backyard. But, he added, those reactors, circling the earth at a height of 100 miles, would be closer to the country than the Diablo Canyon atomic power station—and what was just 100 miles up could drop onto your head very fast.

As for the aggregate spending on the development of space weapons, experts estimate that it may exceed one trillion dollars. Tens of billions of dollars will be spent on research during the first five years alone.

More than 240 U.S. companies and over 1,000 subcontractors are now working to carry out the SDI orders. The Pentagon is drawing university centres into this work and allocated $206 million to them for military space research in 1985. The intellectual resources of the other NATO countries and countries outside the alliance are being tapped as well.

The adverse effects of the militarization of science in the U.S.A. and other NATO countries are becoming increasingly evident. More and more voices in favour of channelling the huge spending on war preparations to civilian research are being heard there. At the same time the military-industrial complex is stepping up its propaganda efforts to mislead the public and is playing up the importance of "spin-offs" from military R&D for scientific and technological progress in the civilian sectors of production.

These seemingly peaceful plants in California's Silicon Valley turn out electronic brains for future sophisticated weapons.

Table 5

Public spending on military R&D in leading NATO countries
(million dollars, 1980 prices)

Country	1976	1980	1984	1985
U.S.A.	15,785.4	15,766.5	23,798.0	27,340.0
Britain	2,959.7	3,718.7	3,695.2	3,814.2
France	1,889.7	2,685.8	3,111.0	3,100.0
F.R.G.	959.1	951.8	899.9	1,139.7
Italy	56.1	48.7	169.6	212.0

Table 6

Share of military and civilian programmes in total public spending on R&D
(beginning of 1980s, per cent)

Expenditure item	U.S.A.	Britain	France	F.R.G.
Military and aerospace programmes	63.7	64.8	49.3	24.4
Agriculture and industry	3.2	8.3	12.2	15.3
Power, transport, communication, urban development	14.5	10.1	16.0	30.9
Health care and environmental protection	15.4	3.9	7.5	15.3
Funds for stimulating scientific progress	3.2	12.9	15.0	14.1

Statistics collected by Western specialists, however, give the lie to the argument that spending on military R&D is offset by the civilian applications of the processes, technology, materials and equipment developed and used in military production. One of the American studies concluded, for instance, that "civilian" returns amounted at best to 10 per cent of spending on military-related research.

The most vociferous advocate of "spin-offs" is, of course, the military-

industrial complex. In this way it is trying to justify the huge allocations for military research and to camouflage the adverse effects this has on civilian production. "Spin-offs" from the "star wars" are lauded especially, because arguments are needed in defence of this programme. But here is the opinion of some American scientists: arguments for the much-vaunted "spin-offs," i.e., that military-related technological progress generates improvements in civilian production and therefore does not hold back progress in civilian industries are almost senseless conceptually and in most cases do not correspond to reality. ■

"Rambomania"

One more thing needed by the military-industrial complex to ensure its dominance is man, a dehumanized and subservient man who would readily believe in the need for a mad death race. So the complex is nurturing the cult of violence, using for the purpose the entire arsenal of the capitalist ideological machinery. It cannot function efficiently unless public consciousness is militarized.

Washington's turn to military power politics in the early 1980s was accompanied by unprecedented militarist psychosis, with the entire ideological machinery of the NATO countries employed to provide propaganda backing for intensive war preparations. The main role has been assigned to the mass media, which act as the mouthpiece of the arms corporations and government, primarily military, bodies, of all the right-wing forces now in power or seeking power.

The military departments also have their own information channels. The Pentagon is financing more than 1,000 newspapers and about 400 magazines and various bulletins with a total edition of more than 12 million copies. The Department of the Navy alone maintains contacts with 600 TV centres and 5,000 radio stations. Funds on "brainwashing" campaigns allocated to the U.S. Department of Defence have grown 15-fold in the past 20 years.

All the methods of militarist propaganda have been brought into action to sow mistrust and foment hatred for everything related to the life and ideals of socialist society. To this end the achievements of real socialism are ignored, attempts are made to find "inherent flaws" in its economic and political system, and Soviet domestic and foreign policies are misrepresented. Special emphasis is laid on the "lag" of the U.S.A. and its allies and the "superiority" of the U.S.S.R. and the Warsaw Treaty as a whole in the military field. It is alleged that the Soviet Union is unprecedentedly building up its military potential and that a real threat to "Western democracy" comes from the East. These allegations have become the main "argument" of the West's militarist propaganda in the past few years, and they have been repeated by American officials of every rank. For instance, in the Pentagon's report on the draft budget for 1987 Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger imputes to the Soviet Union "the attempt to achieve a position of global military superiority."

No lie about the U.S.S.R. is too foul for the arms merchants and their partners in the military-industrial complex. Trying to secure multi-billion appropriations for the "star wars" programme, they keep presenting the U.S. space arms development as a countermeasure to the Soviet arms buildup or parallel actions to those of the U.S.S.R., and brush aside official Soviet explanations that the space research conducted in the U.S.S.R. is not intended to develop space strike weapons or large-scale space ABM systems.

Rambo on the screen.

The fomenting of militarist and chauvinist sentiments creates favourable conditions for the activity of the lobbyists of military business in the legislative bodies.

The methods used to secure appropriations for military purposes are in accord with Washington's policy of subverting the existing system of treaties and agreements on arms limitation and reduction.

The cult of force is being inculcated in public mentality through the substitution of moral values. "The violence served by the media to the public is developing aggressiveness in some of the people," Le Monde diplomatique of Paris noted. "Besides, it cultivates in the public psychosis from which the advocates of the ideology of 'public security' derive advantage."

There are numerous facts illustrating this policy and practice. During a year American children under 16 years of age can see on TV on average 200,000 acts of violence and 50,000 murders, 33,000 of them committed with arms. Military toys are widely advertised, and their sales rose by 600 per cent between 1982 and 1985. More than 218 million such toys, five for every child on an average, were bought in the United States in 1985 alone. Toys aside, the Americans privately own 35-40 million small firearms and more than 100,000 licensed machine guns. According to some sources, the number of firearms owners has trebled in the 1980s.

The military-industrial complex is pinning special hopes on cinema. Hollywood is more and more often making films for the Pentagon, and "cinematic violence" is broadly advertised. Here are some of the latest thrillers: "Red Dawn," "Iron Eagle," "Invasion U.S.A." and "Rocky IV." The film "Rambo: First Blood, Part II" made a hit. The box office returns during the first 23 days after release amounted to $75.8 million, the third biggest commercial success in the history of U.S. cinema. Rambomania swept the country. Many companies bought the right to use the "Rambo" symbol in the advertising of their wares. Posters showing Rambo have been pinned up in the drafting stations of the U.S. army. President Reagan praised the militarist "cinema masterpiece" to the skies.

In an attempt to combine military efforts within NATO, the U.S.A. is striving to organize a sort of ideological pool in the alliance. The pro-

paganda agencies of other imperialist states have been drawn in the efforts to brainwash the public on a worldwide scale. NATO has an Atlantic Treaty Association set up to advertise the alliance. NATO periodicals, along with calls for Atlantic solidarity and arms buildup, openly blackmail the European allies with a "Soviet threat."

The books and films glorifying violence have become a major item of U.S. export. They have inundated the markets of capitalist countries to such an extent that even the allies express concern about the fate of national cultural values. In 1982 France's Minister of Culture complained about what he called American "cultural imperialism." Newsweek remarked on this occasion that "Americans seem to be gobbling up European art."

The U.S. ideological expansion, especially its militarist manifestations, meets with public opposition in Western Europe, but is not resisted by governments. For instance, the British government intends to stop subsidizing the national film industry as from 1987, while the French government has decided to sell its TF-1 television company to a private proprietor. The U.S. and West European military-industrial complexes are making ever wider use of the privately-owned media in the West European countries.

Western propaganda, including militarist propaganda, has at its disposal the latest achievements of scientific and technological progress, such as cable television and communication satellites. The broadcasting time of new television programmes is expected to reach 125,000 hours in the near future. Britain, France, the F.R.G. and Italy put together are so far producing television programmes for 5,000 hours of broadcasting. This imbalance, naturally, is offering even broader room for U.S. ideological expansion in Western Europe.

American grannies and West German children learn to fire real pistols.

The U.S. military-industrial complex is thus playing in NATO the role of the chief organizer and coordinator of mass campaigns of slander and misinformation against the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries.

In examining the extent and consequences of the militarist onslaught on mass consciousness, we should not overlook the resistance offered to it by the democratic forces, broad anti-war movements at national level and on the world scene, and by the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, which consistently put forward concrete measures to end the arms race. This resistance makes the scale and bounds of the ideological influence of the military-industrial complex extremely volatile. We are witnessing the battle of ideas, over problems of war and peace as well, which is a manifestation of the general antagonism between socialism and capitalism. The degree of influence of the military-industrial complex at any given moment is one result of this battle.

■

Partners-cum-Rivals

The relations between Western Europe and the United States in the economic and political as well as in the military sphere are marked by contradictions. On the one hand the aggregate economic and military power of the NATO countries is growing (this process reflecting the striving of imperialism to alter the world balance of forces in its favour), and, on the other, the inter-imperialist rivalry is getting sharper. The military aspects of this rivalry are directly linked with the activity of the military-industrial complex.

With the military-industrial complexes of the principal NATO countries closely cooperating, the United States retains key military and political positions in the bloc. It has the biggest military and economic potential and is far ahead of its partners in the application of scientific and technological achievements for military purposes and in the development and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Western Europe still depends heavily on advanced American military technology and deliveries.

The U.S. military-industrial complex has contributed to the militarization of NATO West European countries.

From "Charity" to "Full-Fledged Partnership"

Initially, the relations between the United States and Western Europe were very unequal, with Washington foisting American weapons as free "aid" on war-weakened countries.

But Washington's "charity" (on which, incidentally, the arms manufacturers cashed in), could not last for ever. In the early 1960s the West European countries had to pay almost the full cost of U.S. military deliveries to them. The increasing expenditure on arms purchases coupled with the growing demand for armaments on the local market and the consolidation of the economic positions of the West European countries made for the growth of the munitions industry there. The expansion of this industry was encouraged by lavish government subsidies. Simultaneously, military-industrial complexes were taking shape and coming to exert an appreciable influence on their countries' life.

As a result of the military integration processes in the region by the beginning of the 1960s and the intensive growth of the munitions industry in Britain, France, the F.R.G. and later Italy, West European countries became virtually self-sufficient in armaments in the 1970s, and their military-industrial complexes were in a position to compete with those of the U.S., first on the European and then on the world market of armaments.

These trends have many aspects, and it would be an oversimplification to see only anti-Americanism behind them. The important thing is that the United States, acting on the concept of "full-fledged partnership," sought to make the West European countries step up their military efforts so as to "share the burden" within NATO. A greater contribution of the allies enabled Washington to release its own resources and use them for a qualitative improvement of military production, the modernization of the nuclear-missile arsenals.

Under the Reagan presidency the U.S. military-strategic concepts have been updated proceeding from Washington's global interests and designs. Although in U.S. plans Western Europe remains the chief area of strategic confrontation with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization as a whole, any region of the world can now be proclaimed an area of U.S. "vital interests," and the accents are shifted accordingly. Thus, as former Undersecretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger has pointed out, U.S. economic interests increasingly are turning from Europe to the more dynamic economies of the Pacific basin, while Senator William Roth has said, elaborating on the subject, that "the ties of economic self-interest which helped hold NATO together in the past may not be so strong in the future."

Outposts

The present U.S. leadership holds that the West European countries should take care of their military preparations, with emphasis on conventional arms and the armed forces. NATO's latest military-strategic doctrines and arms buildup programmes are fully in line with this concept. "By 1990," ex-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger noted, "Europe should assume the major responsibility for conventional ground defence. This is well within the capability of a group of countries with nearly one and one-half times the population and twice the GNP of the Soviet Union."

If that trend was carried on links between the military-industrial complexes of the U.S. and other NATO countries would become more tangled, with military cooperation and rivalry increasingly intertwined in their relations, reflecting the continuing clash of

centrifugal and centripetal processes in the imperialist camp.

Thus, in recent years most West European members of NATO have been reluctant to increase their military expenditure on the scale proposed by Washington. Pointing out that in 1970-78 their military spending grew at a much faster rate than in the United States, many of them limited its growth in 1979-85 (with the exception of Britain and Italy who were the only leading NATO states where military expenditure continued to grow rapidly). Such a position was also explained by the aggravation of economic and financial problems in West European countries which were faced with the dilemma of either further to increase military spending to the detriment of the national economies with a possible worsening of the social and political situation, or to stabilize their military efforts to some extent.

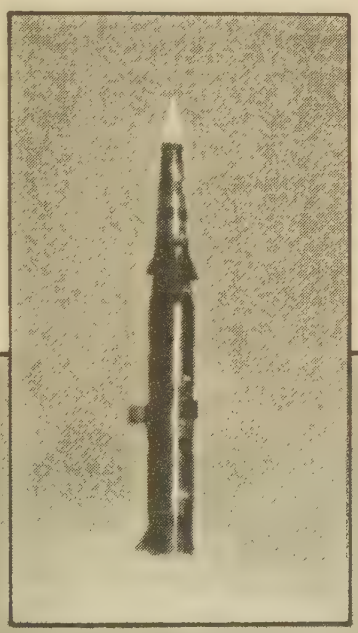
Other manifestations of the centrifugal and centripetal tendencies could also be mentioned. The U.S. military-industrial complex retains its key role in the military preparations of NATO. Despite the greatly increased military and economic potential of the West European countries it holds strong positions on the West European arms market. Nevertheless, the gap is narrowing: in 1985 the amount of armaments and military equipment Western Europe received from the U.S. exceeded its own supplies to the U.S. three times over, while in the 1970s the ratio was 10:1.

The U.S. military-industrial complex is making wide use of the NATO mechanism to expand the militarization of Western Europe. The forward-lines concept formulated by NATO supreme commander in Europe, U.S. General Bernard Rogers, lays emphasis on intensive buildup of conventional arms with super-high accuracy and other modern tactical and technical characteristics. This concept envisages stepped-up preparations for war with the use of the latest electronic means of reconnaissance and battle management.

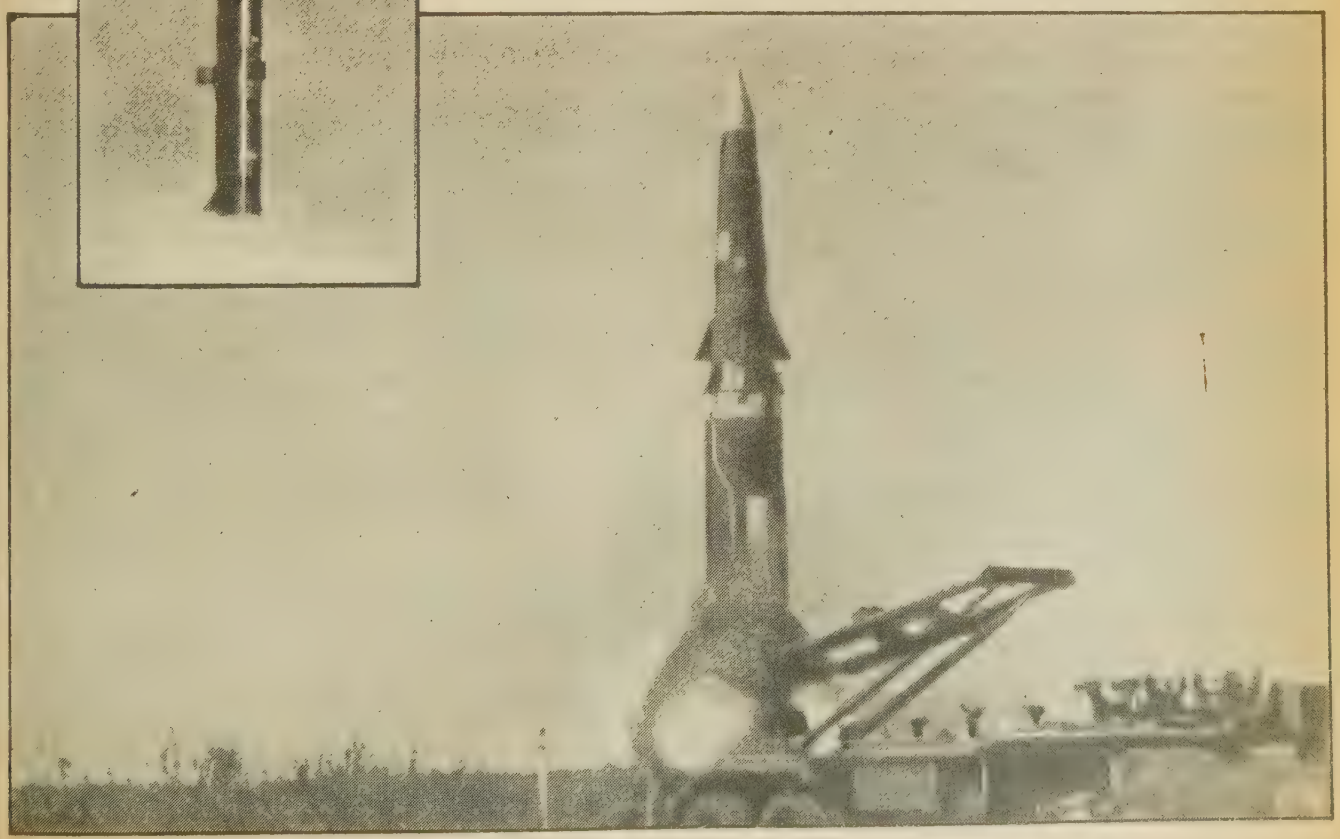
In early June 1983 the NATO Defence Planning Committee endorsed an arms buildup programme to the end of the current decade. In the opinion of Rogers, the West European members of NATO should increase their military budgets if they are to cope with the new tasks. The armed forces of the European allies, he says, have now only 70 per cent of the equipment and arms needed. The May 1985 meeting of the Defence Planning Committee discussed the conceptual military framework, a 20-year programme of the bloc's military preparations projected into the next century. Emphasis in it is laid on the acquisition of new arms and materiel for NATO as a whole and for its individual members.

Scramble for Markets

Thus, the U.S. military-industrial complex seeks to ensure a stable market for its products in Western Europe, with special attention paid to broader military-industrial cooperation. Joint projects specify not only the commit-



Pershing 2s in Western Europe. The Martin-Orlando company and the Pentagon signed a contract on their development back in February 1969. The development of this missile, specially designed for deployment in Europe, was made a separate programme in the U.S. army budget for 1975. And two years later NATO leaders began to talk about the "growing threat" of Soviet SS-20s—to justify the appearance of Pershings.



ments of the sides to develop concrete types of armaments but also production programmes coordinated with the state plans of arms purchases. The U.S. legislature supports this practice: in 1985 Congress adopted the Nunn amendment under which $250 million will be annually allocated to assist the U.S. military-industrial complex in its efforts to promote cooperation among the NATO countries. Apart from large-scale intergovernment agreements, mutually advantageous direct links are established between U.S. arms corporations and their less powerful European partners. These links also facilitate the access of U.S. products to the West European market.

The U.S.-based transnational arms corporations penetrate the industries of West European countries, acquire control over arms-manufacturing firms, and invest in military production. One instance of this is the take-over of the British Westland helicopter-building firm by the United Technologies concern in 1986.

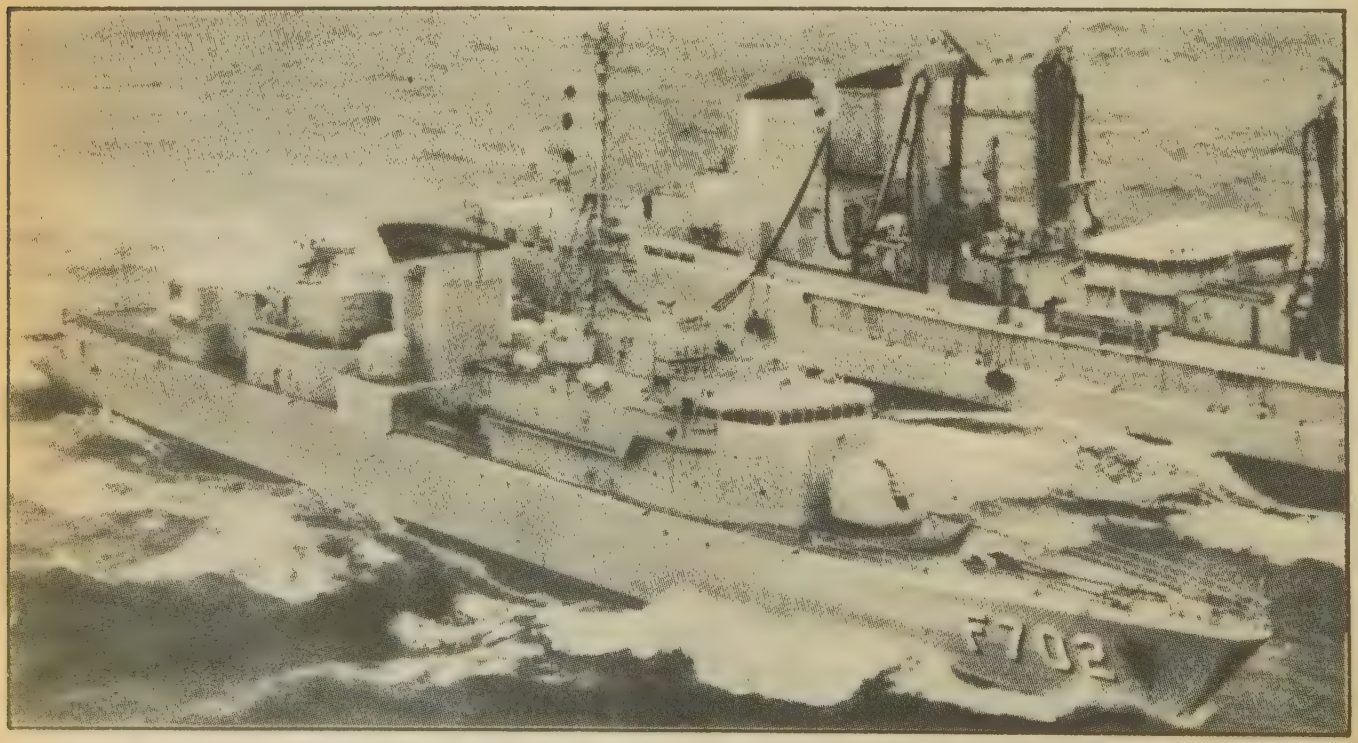
The West European military-industrial complexes are trying to offset this process, primarily by expanding regional military-economic integration in most munitions industries. Weapons produced by West European consortiums and under multinational programmes are highly competitive on the world market as is indicated, for instance, by the multi-billion sales to Middle East countries of Tornado fighter-bombers manufactured by the Panavia consortium (Britain, the F.R.G. and Italy). Integration is stimulated by the establishment of regional institutions to coordinate joint military-economic activity within the European planning programme group and the Western European Union—both formally independent of NATO.

The positions of West European military-industrial complexes are strengthened by monopolization processes in the military industries of their respective countries. The West German MBB and Daimler-Benz have in recent years taken over many smaller munitions companies. In other countries the merger of munitions companies was facilitated by their nationalization and state intervention. At the same time, denationalization of military production now under way in Britain and France is accompanied by its monopolization in private hands.

The main problem facing the big West European arms manufacturers is limited domestic demand, which does not allow of large-scale production and is not conducive to profitable investments. The solution of this problem is being sought within the framework of the European planning programme group through creating a single European market of armaments. But many difficulties arise here, coordination of the participating countries' purchasing policy being one of them. That is why the big West European military-industrial complexes and their multinational consortiums have rushed to the world market, primarily the developing countries. According to Soviet estimates, they export roughly 50 per cent of their military output. With the French Aerospatiale, for instance, the figure is as high as 60 per cent. The growing competition impels the U.S. military-industrial complex to act vigorously. To successfully compete with its European rivals the U.S. military-industrial complex has even developed armaments intended solely for export (the F-20 fighter, for instance).

The "star wars" programe is seen by the U.S. military-industrial complex as

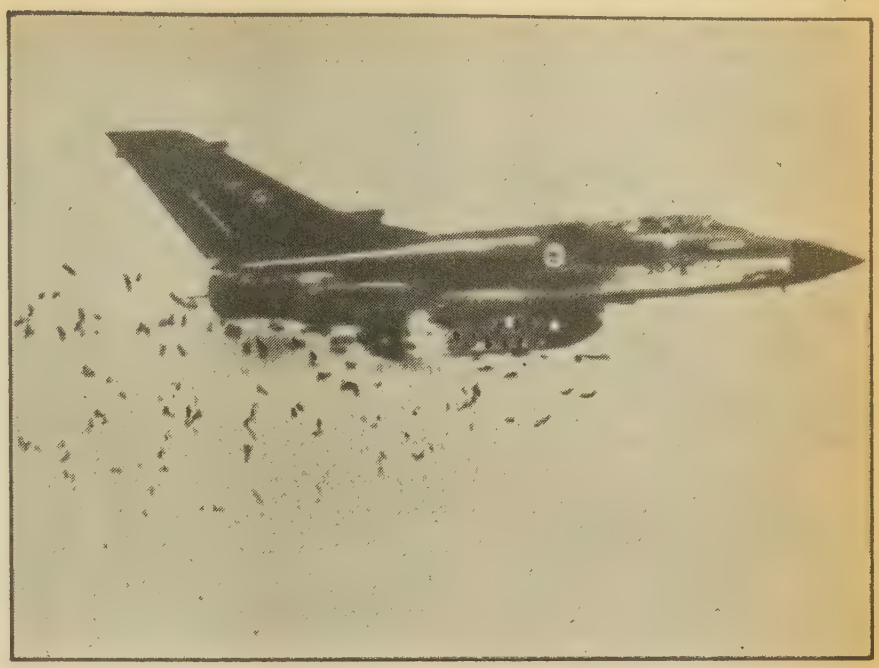
French frigates are not in demand on the American market but are selling well in the Middle East.



a way of leaving its European partners-cum-rivals far behind in high technology and reducing them to the status of subcontractors, as is evident from the intergovernment agreements the United States concluded with Britain, the F.R.G. and Italy on their participation in SDI. The Thatcher government sought to obtain guaranteed $1.5 billion contracts for its zealous "Atlantic solidarity," but did not succeed. After the agreement with the F.R.G. was signed the press wrote of restrictions on high-technology transfers which virtually bring to naught West European hopes of catching up with the U.S. in military technology through joint projects. According to some Western estimates, of the $26 billion initially earmarked for "star wars" research, West European companies will get no more than one. The contract on research in infrared sensors signed with the West German MBB is worth a mere $4 million.

The participation of West European countries in SDI, especially at government level, means for Washington the drawing of its partners into a new round of the arms race, with the U.S. military-industrial complex holding dominant positions and the West European partners playing an auxiliary role.

Yet, as their military potential grows, the West European members of NATO increasingly point to the need to obtain a measure of "independence" within the bloc, to rely less on Washington's "nuclear guarantees" and more on their own strength, and to take specific European economic and political interests into account. This explains to some extent the pauses in the arm-twisting policy Washington has been pursuing over the years vis-à-vis its NATO partners. Although the leading bodies of the bloc approve of the U.S. line in military preparations, much of what is involved no longer arouses enthusiasm among the allies.



The multipurpose Tornado fighter-bomber, seen above dropping cluster bombs, is manufactured by the Panavia consortium (Britain, Italy, and the F.R.G.).

However, the significance of some contradictions within NATO should not be overestimated. They do not indicate any split. The striving of West European countries towards independence in military buildup does not, on the whole, run counter to U.S. political and strategic concepts. The goal is the same—to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Although Western Europe is still greatly dependent on the United States in the military sphere, the gradual strengthening of the West European centre of power more and more often compels Washington to reckon with the allies on many questions of NATO military buildup.

■

Skyrocketing Military Spending

NATO states are stepping up the wasteful arms race under the pretext of a "Soviet military threat." They have invariably accounted for the greater part of the military spending in the non-socialist world. Between 1949 and 1985 they spent more than $9.3 trillion on military preparations, or about 80 per cent of the non-socialist world's military spending in that period (here and elsewhere in 1985 prices adjusted for inflation and at that year's average exchange rate—**Ed.**). This is more than 50 per cent in excess of financial outlays (in comparable prices) in the second world war, the bloodiest of all wars waged in human history. On the yearly reckoning, NATO's military spending over 36 years has been much higher than in all the countries combined, during the first world war.

Economically, NATO's growing aggressiveness, constantly rising material requirements of its armed forces and qualitative changes in the structure of military consumption due to scientific and technological progress tend to increase the volume of all the resources used. In 1985 NATO's military expenditure amounted to some $370 billion, almost 50 per cent more than in 1980 and nearly four and a half times more than in 1949, the year when the bloc was founded.

To justify this profligate use of resources the view is widely spread that the arms race is good for the economy. It is argued that military expenditure is an effective way to stimulate the economy and prevent crises. This is not so.

The arms race is like rust eroding and deforming Western economies committed to speedy militarization. By diverting vast resources to military preparations it narrows the base for investment and slows down social and economic progress. The economic cost of the arms race lies not only in the distraction of valuable resources, but in the opportunities and economic effect lost through failure to use the available resources rationally and productively.

The overblown militarization of advanced capitalist countries adversely affects the interests of other countries through the mechanism of international economic ties. Thus, global economic damage is multiplied. The arms race is icreasingly at odds with normal economic development of individual countries and the world as a whole.

The first half of the 1980s saw the U.S. and its NATO partners beat their own militarist records after making an about-face turn from détente to the policy of military strength.

Top Spender

The U.S. occupies the leading place in the military structure of the capitalist world. Over the past 40 years it has spent more for military purposes than all the industrialized capitalist countries combined. And the U.S. military spending is constantly growing, as has become particularly apparent since the Reagan Administration took over. During the fiscal years 1981-85 Washington's military spending in real terms increased on the average four times faster than in the preceding four years. The average annual rate of growth was 6.7 and 1.6 per cent respectively. Almost $270 billion has been earmarked for the 1986 fiscal year. In 1988 the U.S. will spend an estimated $300 billion on arms. That country's military spending (in comparable prices) has now reached an unprecedented level in peacetime, a level that formerly was attained only at the time of local wars. The U.S. spends more on military research and development alone than any other major capitalist state on all military requirements.

The improvement of the U.S. military machine is achieved by a concentration of economic resources unprecedented in peacetime. Priority is given to the technological component of military might, while troop strength remains relatively stable. The outlays for the creation and increase of that component (military research and development, purchase and maintenance of arms and materiel, building of military installations) are growing much faster than the overall military bill. Such spending in real terms per every serviceman doubled between 1978 and 1985, whereas in the preceding 20 years (from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s) it remained practically stable.

The manufacture of modern weapons systems requires specialized sophisticated equipment, highly qualified personnel, and special raw and other materials. All this tends to increase the cost of arms and materiel. The present stage in U.S. military buildup provides a good illustration.

Large nuclear-missile programmes are combined with efforts to develop general-purpose forces and heighten their strategic mobility. Under the current Administration emphasis is laid on preparing the material base for

fighting wars of various scale and intensity.

The U.S. has embarked on the biggest nuclear arms manufacturing programme in the last 20 years. Invoking, as usual, the "Soviet threat" and the need tc regain the strategic initiative, the Pentagon has launched a crash programme to modernize all the elements of the strategic triad—sea-based and land-based ballistic missiles and bomber aviation. These measures have been dubbed "programme for the rearmament of America."

In 1985 the first strategic B-1B bomber was handed over to U.S. Air Force in an official ceremony at an air base in Nebraska. According to the Pentagon's plans, the fleet of these nuclear weapons carriers should reach at least 100 by 1988. Each such plane can carry up to 30 nuclear cruise missiles.

Also by 1988 the mobile intercontinental ballistic missile Midgetman is scheduled to be ready for flight tests. It is to be deployed in the beginning of the next decade.

In 1992 new MX ICBMs are to be adopted by the army. These missiles have twice the weight of the current Minuteman-3 ICBMs and have three times as many warheads which are twice as powerful and twice as accurate.

The new submarine-launched Trident-2 (D-5) ICBM has similar performance characteristics. A programme to build this missile is to be launched in the late 1980s.

The "rearmament of America" envisages the development and manufacture of a basically new ATB strategic bomber. Its chief difference from the existing models is the use of Stealth technology, which, according to the Pentagon, could make this bomber invisible for the enemy radars. As many as 130 such planes are to be built in the 1990s.

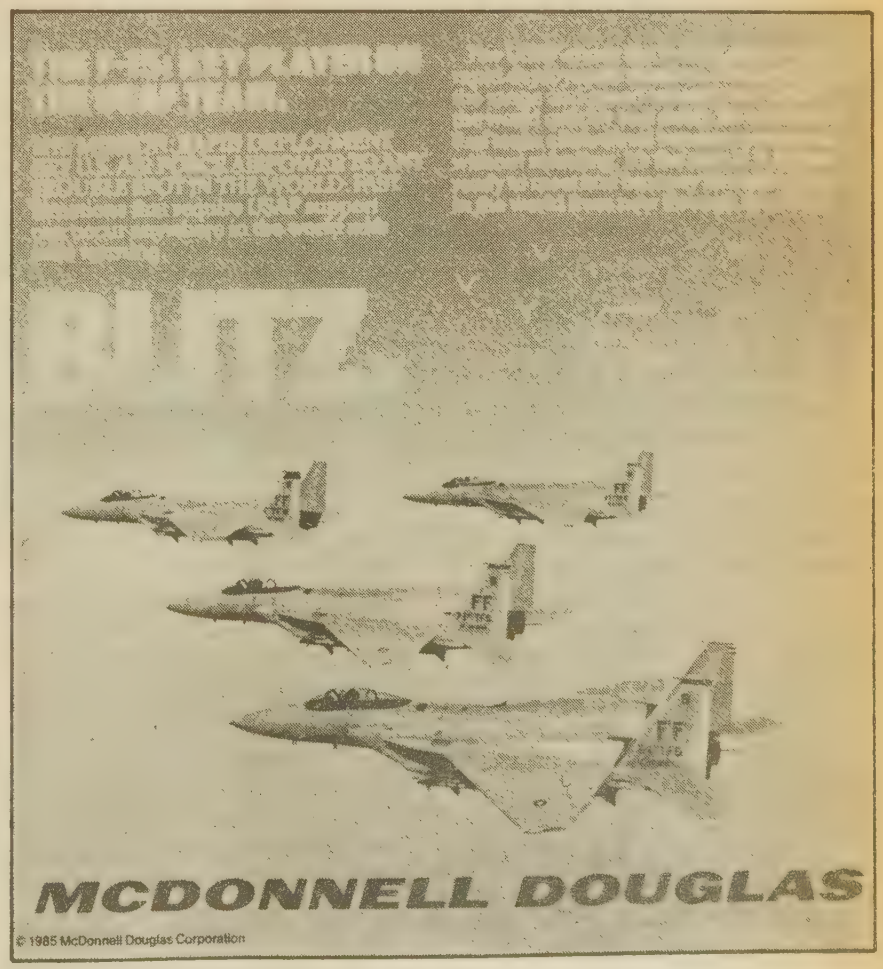
The rearmament programme is to increase the capacity of the U.S. strategic offensive forces to deliver nuclear warheads per launch (flight) by at least 50 per cent. President Reagan's decision no longer to observe the SALT-2 treaty concluded with the Soviet Union in 1979 (the U.S. has failed to ratify it, but has until recently complied with it) sweeps away the last barrier in the way of unlimited buildup of nuclear arsenals. In the summer of 1986 the White House announced its intention to deploy some extra MX ICBMs (to a total cost of $27 billion) and to start building Trident missile-carrying submarines each costing $2.6 billion. The total cost between now and the mid-1990s would amount to $100 billion according to the U.S. congressional budget bureau. Meanwhile, according to a State Department arms control expert, his country already possesses enough nuclear weapons to stage 600,000 Hiroshimas and 2,400 wars like the second world war.

The SDI heads the list of the costliest projects of military research, development and acquisition of arms and military equipment (on the yearly reckoning) launched by the U.S. Defence Department. All in all, 1,000 such projects and about 2,000 programmes of arms purchases are under way. To finance the ten leading programmes the U.S. Defence Department has requested nearly $28 billion for the 1987 fiscal year, or about 9 per cent of its budget. One sixth of this sum is to be spent on the SDI.

Considerable efforts are being made in the United States to increase the lethal power of the chemical weapons. Binary weapons are being tested. Research in the first half of the 1980s has cost $2.5 billion.

The partners in the military-industrial complex are also working to create qualitatively new types and systems of conventional weapons. The cost of developing and manufacturing tanks, planes, ships, artillery and small arms is far greater than the appropriations for nuclear weapons. The chief danger lies in the fact that, as a report of the U.N. Secretary-General has noted, the manufacture of conventional weapons is geared to the development of generations and families of such weapons that come dangerously close to the area where the border between conventional and nuclear weapons is erased in terms of destructive power and accuracy on the one hand, and its multipurpose role on the other.

The 1980s have seen a marked increase in the amount of new equipment provided to the army. Generously financing arms acquisitions, the U.S. leadership seeks to saturate the army with M 1 Abrams tanks (it is planned to buy 8,000 of them), M 2 armoured personnel carriers and Patriot anti-aircraft missiles. Tactical aviation is being modernized and new military transport planes are being developed (one such



McDonnell Douglas is promoting its "blitz-products": F-15 planes, it claims, will quickly reach any part of the globe where American interests are threatened.

project, estimated at five billion dollars, is to build a supermodern plane capable of carrying special units equipped with heavy tanks, guns and other weapons to "trouble spots"). New ships are being built and existing ones modernized to bring their number to 600, and naval aircraft are being bought.

The U.S. is trying to use the military factor to influence the world economy. It is a very special kind of influence. By stepping up the manufacture of new and costly weapons systems it does not only seek military superiority over the U.S.S.R. but hopes that countermeasures would overstrain the Soviet economy. On the other hand, making its allies to deepen militaristic processes, Washington hopes to weaken their position as its main rivals in the capitalist world. By extending the geography of the arms race it hopes to change the economic and political situation in the developing countries in its favour and turn to advantage the harmful economic and social consequences of the arms race.

U.S. actions in the 1980s provided further proof of its dangerous role as the centre of militarism and constant leader in the arms race that undermines international security and saddles mankind with the crippling burden of military spending. While strengthening its own military machine Washington is taking steps to build up the combined military might of imperialism, notably its NATO partners and Japan.

Under a Nuclear Umbrella

Since NATO was founded the military expenditure of its West European members has risen from $22.1 billion in 1949 to $93.2 billion in 1985. Their armed forces number about 2,000,000.

The U.S. is trying in every way to make its allies contribute more to NATO activities. The NATO Council meeting in May 1978 adopted a 15-year programme of arms buildup and modernization. It is designed to strengthen the bloc's overall military potential, including nuclear-missile potential, broaden military interaction between its members, and enhance the combat efficiency of their armed forces. The programme has also committed each member country to a 3 per cent annual increase in military spending in real terms (i.e., adjusted for inflation).

Eighteen months later the so-called NATO double-track decision was adopted under which 572 new American medium-range missiles were to be deployed in Western Europe (108 Pershing 2s and 464 land-based cruise missiles). The first batch arrived in 1983 marking a new step towards a concerted improvement of the NATO military machine.

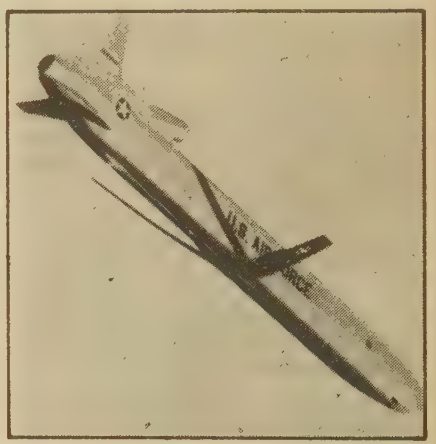
To justify their attempt to tip the military balance in Europe in their favour, the U.S. advocates of NATO are arguing that the American "nuclear umbrella" would safeguard the European civilization from "Red expansionism." But, as Winston Churchill warned back in 1951, Britain should not forget that in creating an American atomic base in southeastern England it turns itself into a target and probably into the bull's eye of the target.

Such warnings are more relevant today than at that time. In spite of all the efforts of the aggressive NATO circles to justify the Pentagon's nuclear plans by invoking a "Soviet military threat" the United States is increasingly regarded in Europe as a source of immediate threat to peace and security, a

Table 7

Military Spending of the Non-Socialist World
(billion U.S. dollars, at 1985 prices and exchange rate)

Period	Official military expenditure	Annual average
1901-13	260	20
First world war (1914-18)	1,100	220
1925-38	970	70
Second world war (1939-45)	6,000	860
1948-85	11,800	310
of which:		
NATO countries	9,300	250
Other countries	2,500	65
TOTAL	**20,130**	**270**



Beginning from the mid-1970s the U.S. has been developing cruise missiles of various types.

Table 8

Military Spending of NATO and Japan
(in billion U.S. dollars, at 1985 prices and exchange rate)

Year	NATO total	Including						Japan
		U.S.	U.K.	France	F.R.G.	Italy	others	
1949	84.0	60.5	11.7	5.7	—	2.2	3.9	...
1950	90.3	64.5	12.4	6.1	—	2.6	4.6	...
1953	244.7	198.0	19.9	11.6	—	3.0	12.1	3.5
1955	209.5	161.1	17.5	9.1	6.9	3.3	11.6	3.2
1960	218.2	165.1	16.2	12.0	10.4	3.8	10.7	3.2
1965	240.1	176.8	17.1	13.8	15.2	5.2	12.1	4.4
1968	314.7	249.9	17.1	14.9	13.7	5.6	13.4	5.4
1970	281.3	215.3	16.7	14.4	15.3	5.7	14.6	6.4
1975	259.7	181.7	18.4	16.1	18.8	6.6	18.1	8.9
1978	264.2	180.1	18.5	19.0	19.4	7.4	19.9	9.8
1980	276.0	187.9	20.9	19.6	19.9	8.2	19.4	10.6
1981	289.3	200.8	19.7	20.1	20.2	8.4	20.1	10.9
1982	310.0	218.8	20.7	20.5	19.9	8.9	21.2	11.3
1983	331.8	234.3	22.8	20.9	20.1	9.1	24.6	11.9
1984	344.1	245.3	23.0	20.8	19.9	9.4	25.6	12.4
1985	367.4	266.6	23.8	20.7	20.3	9.5	26.4	12.9

Notes:

1. Totals may not coincide because of rounding.
2. 1949—the formation of NATO; 1953—the peak of the Korean war; 1968—the peak of the Vietnam war; 1978—NATO's "3 per cent" decision.
3. The data cited draw on NATO unified classification (except Japan).

Japan's Self-Defence Forces.

force that could bring nuclear war to the continent. As prominent British politician Denis Healey pointed out, the only reason for the installation of these missiles in Europe is to enable Americans to deliver a strike without being itself involved in a nuclear war, and thus confine it to Europe and save the United States.

The European partners, however, are trying hard to keep up with the leader. Four years ago the British Conservative government decided to build four new nuclear submarines and equip them with U.S. Trident-2 missiles. The officially estimated cost of the British Trident programme has risen from 7.5 to 9.9 billion pounds sterling between 1982 and 1985. But some other estimates put the total cost of the programme over the next 15 years at between 30 and 50 billion pounds sterling. In the early 1990s annual spending on these purposes may reach 15 per cent of the country's military budget.

It will be an exaggeration to say that these nuclear forces belong to Britain. According to Conservative MP Julian Critchley, vice-president of the Conservative Party's defence committee, British Trident-2 submarines will actually form part of the NATO nuclear forces totally controlled by the U.S.A.

France, drawing chiefly on its own research, is constantly improving its nuclear triad. Each submarine equipped with ballistic missiles costs the taxpayers 3-4 billion francs in that country.

Britain and France have considerable amounts of conventional weapons, which are speedily replaced with new ones. Like other West European countries of NATO, they are carrying out large programmes to develop new aircraft (Tornado and Mirage-2000 multi-purpose planes and Nimrod early warning planes), various types of helicopters, warships and armour (MBT-80 and Leopard-2 tanks), anti-aircraft and anti-tank guided missiles and other armaments.

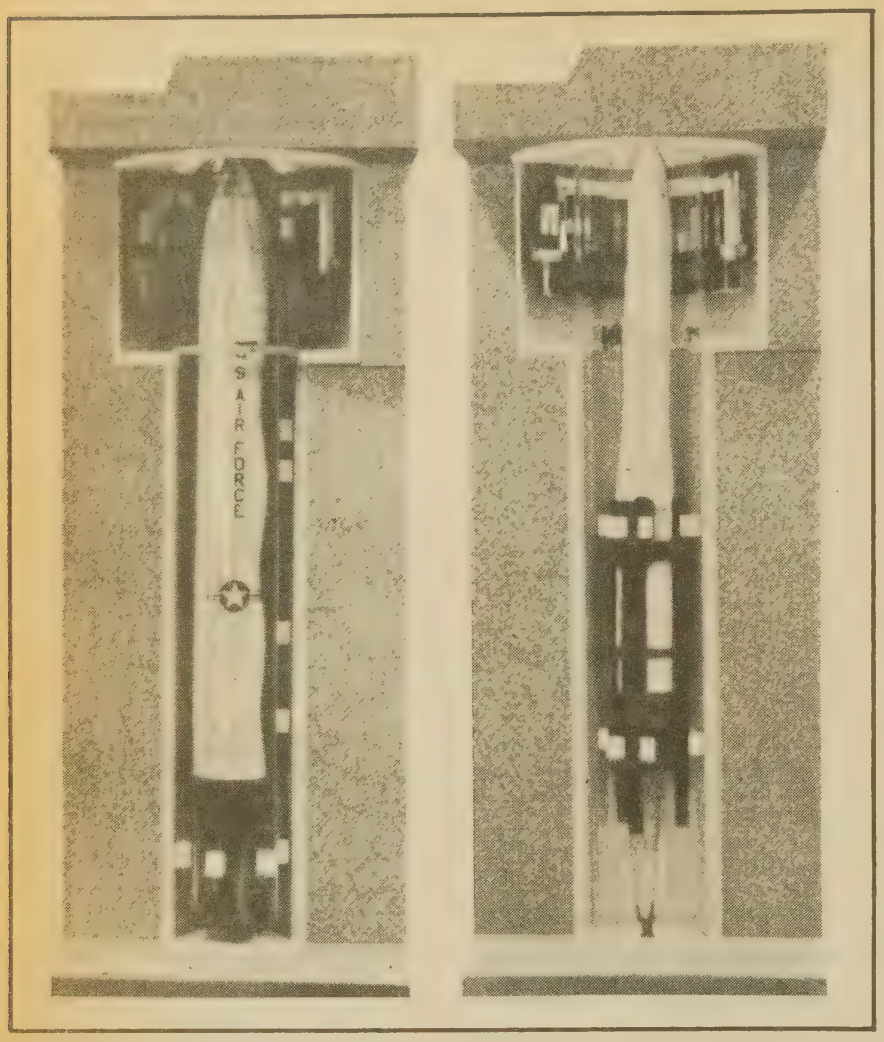
Unlike the military-industrial complexes in Britain and France, the military in the F.R.G. have for a long time been

Table 9

Purchase of Weapons Systems under the Carter and Reagan Administrations

Type of Weapon	Carter Round (1977-80)		Reagan Round (1982-85)		Increment in per cent	
	Units bought	Cost*	Units bought	Cost*	Units bought	Cost*
Missiles	116,708	15.0	124,191	28.7	6	91
Planes	2,589	13.3	2,816	75.9	9	471
Vessels	61	28.9	83	44.2	36	53
Tanks and other combat vehicles	7,956	6.2	10,342	15.3	30	147
TOTAL	**127,314**	**63.4**	**137,432**	**164.1**	**8**	**159**

* In billion dollars, at inflation-adjusted prices of the 1985 fiscal year.



"Peace-keeper" American style: the MX missile carries ten warheads instead of three carried by its predecessor, Minuteman 3. MX is twice as accurate in hitting the target.

restricted in the manufacture and acquisition of weapons. The creation of an armaments industry and large armed forces and the formation of a military-industrial complex in that country were accompanied by a gradual lifting of these restrictions. In 1984 the Council of the Western European Union removed the last of them, allowing the F.R.G. to manufacture strategic bombers and long-range missiles. The Bundeswehr promptly came up with a development programme until the year 2000 estimated at about one trillion West German marks.

The NATO leadership is also concerned with technologically advanced systems of non-nuclear weapons.

In 1982 General Rogers proposed a plan to reequip the general-purpose armed forces of the West European countries of NATO with most up-to-date conventional arms. The aim is to materially increase their offensive capability. According to Rogers, to implement this plan the military budgets will have to grow by a "mere" 4 per cent a year (in real terms).

Militaristic processes are also gaining strength in Japan, the third centre of world imperialism. Washington is extending its strategic cooperation with Tokyo in an attempt to harness Japan to the American plans of altering the present balance of forces in the Far East. While formally observing the "political ceiling" of military spending (1 per cent of the GNP), the Japanese ruling quarters are seeking to restore Japan's place as a leading military power of the capitalist world. As a result, in the 1970s and 1980s Japan outstripped most NATO countries not only in the rate of growth of military spending (in physical terms), but also in its absolute terms. Tokyo's strategists are drawing up a long-term programme for the buildup of ground forces, requesting 5-6 trillion yen for the purpose. Other armed services are also getting their due share of attention.

So, in the 1980s the capitalist world, headed by the United States, has been smashing its own militaristic records.

Is there an alternative to this policy? ■

From Confrontation to New Political Thinking

So, the activity of the military-industrial complex leads to the growth of military spending and the implementation of new arms programmes which reflect the desire of world reaction to rely on armed force.

There is, however, another aspect of this activity, namely, a carefully thought-out, theoretically "substantiated" and ideologically justified system of the concerted actions of the imperialist states. Although the goals pursued by imperialism with the help of the arms race are diverse, they can be reduced to the protection of the common and factional interests of the dominant class by armed force both on the international scene and domestically.

The arms race is engendered by a policy of aggression, is regulated by it, constitutes part of this policy and a means of its implementation. It is a policy that determines the specific goals, scope and areas of the arms race and new weapons systems and fits them into the military strategy and foreign policy of any particular state. When such a policy needs a theoretical basis, it turns to the ideological machine. When it needs means of coercion, it makes use of the scientific, technological, industrial and raw materials potential of the given country.

The imperialist policy of relying on armed force is the main obstacle on the way to a dependable system of international security. "In the years to come the struggle will evidently centre on the actual content of the policy that can safeguard peace," the political report to the 27th Congress of the CPSU says. "It will be a hard and many-sided struggle, because we are dealing with a society whose ruling circles refuse to assess the realities of the world and its prospects in sober terms, or to draw serious conclusions from their own experience and that of others."

Direct Confrontation

Certain forces in the West are consciously trying to make the arms race irreversible. To this end they have adopted a tough policy of disrupting and even dismantling everything positive that was achieved during the period of détente. Fresh international efforts to curb the arms race are being blocked as well.

The right-wing forces in the United States were conducting a political offensive against détente throughout the 1970s and celebrated success by the end of that decade: the then President Carter declared "an end to détente." Ronald Reagan went even further. He set out to "uproot détente." Having called détente an "illusion," the current U.S. military and political leadership has come up with a strategy of direct confrontation with socialism and proclaimed a crusade against it. The task of uniting the military forces of the imperialist powers under U.S. leadership is being pursued in earnest.

These are only some of the political decisions which have led to the unchecked growth of militarism in the U.S.A. and the countries allied with it during the 1980s. In October 1981 President Reagan made public his "strategic programme" designed to create a qualitatively new material basis for nuclear warfare. In March 1983 the White House complemented it with a Strategic Defence Initiative—a large-scale programme of the development and deployment of space strike weapons.

Simultaneously, the U.S. military and political leadership was stubbornly trying to undermine the treaties limiting the arms race. The SALT-2 treaty was chosen as the first victim of these attempts: Washington had been dragging its feet over ratifying it since 1979 till President Reagan announced in May 1986 that the United States would no longer observe the Soviet-American accords on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons, that is, the 1972 interim agreement (SALT-1) and the SALT-2 treaty.

The truth thus came out: the restrictions imposed by these accords became a hindrance to the runaway buildup of the U.S. arms arsenals. If the U.S. had continued to abide by the SALT-2 treaty, it would have had to revise its military programmes, especially in those fields which the Pentagon considers most promising as a means of toughening military and political confrontation with the U.S.S.R. and its allies.

Washington is making attempts to dismantle the international regime regulating the activities of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in the field of strategic defensive weapons. Having started unprecedented fundamental and applied research and the tests of individual components of the future space strike weapons, the Pentagon felt constricted by the 1972 ABM treaty.

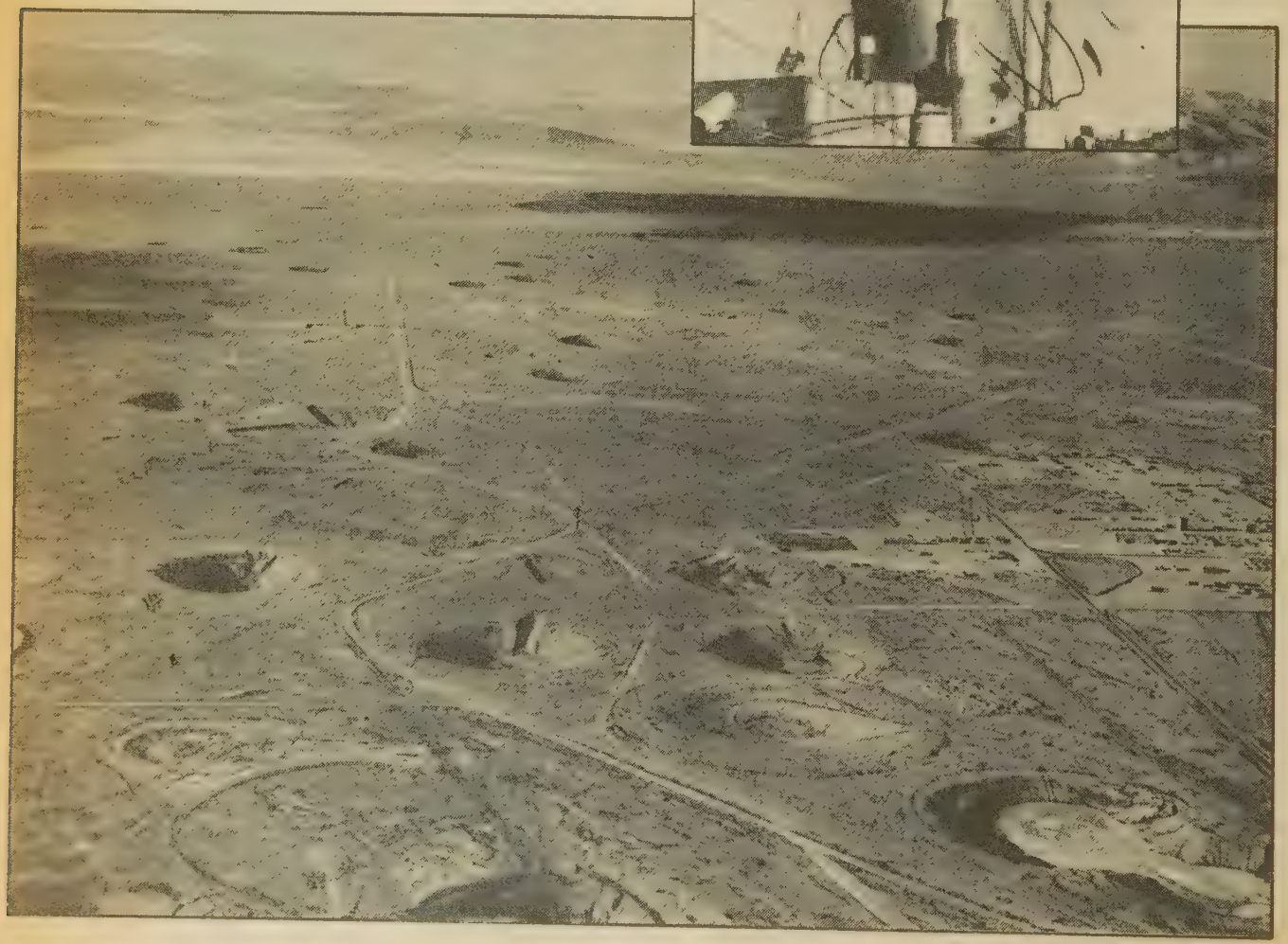
While not daring to denounce this important accord openly, the White House has resorted to the tested tactic of creating the semblance of observing its provisions while actually working to dismantle it.

The U.S.A. is planning to complete soon the construction of a new radar station in Thule, Greenland, and to begin a thorough modernization of a radar station in Britain. Technologically, these radars can become components of a large-scale ABM system unambiguously banned by the ABM treaty.

Another way of breaking out of the treaty is the creation of individual components of space strike weapons under a space defence programme. In the process of the work on anti-satellite weapons, the U.S.A. is developing components of future space anti-missile weapons and backup systems, such as intelligence, communications, control of combat operations, verification of target destruction, etc. Small wonder that Washington has declined a ban on anti-satellite weapons and elimination of the existing anti-satellite systems proposed by Moscow in August 1983, and ignored the Soviet moratorium on the introduction of such weapons in outer space.

"We're running out of real estate here," those in charge of nuclear testing at the Nevada site complain. Under the plans laid by the U.S. Energy Department appropriations for nuclear explosions for military purposes are to increase by 60 per cent to reach $850 million between the fiscal years 1987 and 1991. Nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers and other space strike weapons being developed under the SDI are to be tested.

New types of weaponry, the future basis of space strike systems, are being tested in tunnels under the Nevada Desert. Nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers, microwave bombs, high-speed cluster bombs, optically-guided laser bombs, electromagnetic pulse charges and gamma-ray bombs are only some of the weapons being developed by the Pentagon in direct violation of the spirit of the ABM treaty. Having launched military-oriented applied research under the SDI, the Americans are pursuing the twofold objective of subverting the ABM treaty and blocking a universal and total ban on nuclear weapons tests, all this at a time when the Soviet Union has been observing its unilateral morato-



rium on all nuclear explosions since the summer of 1985 and has now extended it to January 1, 1987.

Washington's obstructionist policy is hindering the nuclear and space arms talks in Geneva. The withdrawal of the U.S.A. from the SALT-2 treaty and a subsequent buildup of the U.S. strategic offensive weapons would make extremely difficult the evaluation of the already complicated balance of forces between the two sides. The U.S. withdrawal from the ABM treaty would be very dangerous as well: the strategic arms limitation talks would become meaningless because a wide-scale ABM system will call for the development and deployment of weapons to overcome it, including strategic offensive weapons. What reductions can be negotiated in that case?

The results of the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Reykjavik are a clear and sad example of the U.S. non-constructive stand. At a time when the sides were close to adopting major historic decisions on nuclear disarmament, the United States, insisting on its "right" to continue the "star wars" programme, buried the accords which had nearly been achieved. Washington's irresponsible step is explained by its approach to the SDI not only as a means of gaining military-strategic superiority over the U.S.S.R. and its allies and an inexhaustible source of profit for the arms barons but also as a means of exerting crude pressure on the U.S.S.R. at the negotiations.

President Reagan openly admitted in a letter to the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee on July 4, 1986, that the Strategic Defence Initiative provides "new and compelling incentives to the Soviet Union for seriously negotiating reductions in existing nuclear arsenals." This special role of the SDI is being praised in the West after Reykjavik as well. In reality, however, the "star wars initiative" of the U.S. President has become, in Mikhail Gorbachev's words, a concentrated expression of militarist designs, a symbol of the obstruction to the cause of peace and unwillingness to remove the nuclear threat hanging over mankind.

Arrogance and "Anything Goes"

A new round of the arms race, unlike the previous ones, is getting under way in the complex political situation of the 1980s. Washington bases its military and political course on an extremely dangerous theoretical premise: the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries are in no position economically, financially, scientifically and technologically to lay claim to military-strategic parity with the capitalist world, which is more powerful in all these respects. According to this premise, strategic parity, recognized during the 1970s, has been declared a "national tragedy," "a threat to the American way of thinking," "a basically wrong concept" and "a very regrettable mistake." No wonder that such theoretical "premises" give a strong impetus to war preparations in the West.

There is one more important circumstance. The strengthening of the positions of the neo-conservative forces, including the military-industrial complex, coincided with a powerful wave of the present scientific and technological revolution. The existing and foreseeable achievements of this revolution are being forcibly squeezed into the channel of militarism and can bring about serious changes in the world's military-strategic situation.

The current spiral of the arms race is so dangerous and its consequences are so unpredictable that it can be evaluated only through a painstaking and strictly scientific analysis of the objective situation, a search for the shoots of the future in it, forecasts for their growth, and decision-making without delay.

But this is precisely what Washington and its allies are not doing. They prefer a toughening of military confrontation, a way most acceptable to them, and, to all appearances, least of all want to ponder a situation to which their policy can lead the world and themselves.

The West is gravely mistaken by refusing to view scientific and technological progress as an objective process taking place all over the world. The countries of the socialist community have strong positions in many areas of this process.

Even if the United States comes up with some military-technological novelty a few years earlier than the U.S.S.R. or gets ahead of the U.S.S.R. for some time in one or another area of science and technology, such an edge cannot be converted into military-strategic superiority and yield tangible advantage with the available weapons systems, to say nothing of those which are likely to be developed.

The Western press, for instance, notes the U.S. superiority in some types of weapons, and the Soviet Union does not deny it. This does not mean, however, that the United States has strategic superiority. The U.S.S.R. neutralizes its rival with other weapons systems, thus maintaining strategic parity.

The hopes to gain military superiority through the speedy use of scientific and technological achievements are illusory also because imperialism proceeds from the false assumption that the U.S.S.R. is bound to lag behind the U.S.A. in its scientific and technological development in the future. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have more than once demonstrated their scientific and technological possibilities, which will grow in the course of fulfilling the ambitious tasks of the acceleration of scientific and technological progress both in the Soviet Union and in the CMEA member countries as a whole. "If need be, we shall come up with a prompt answer, and it will not be what the United States expects," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "But it will be an answer that will depreciate the 'star wars' programme."

Does not the West understand this? Perhaps it does—but what does not let it stop is the intensive militarization of the U.S.A. and the other NATO countries, the inertia of conservative thinking, the prevalence of the armed force concept in political philosophy, and the permanent striving of the West to assert its exclusiveness in the present-day world. The Western ruling circles are building their plans on sand as they underestimate the potentialities of the socialist countries and obviously overestimate their own forces, which nurtures technological overconfidence and an "anything goes" attitude in politics.

Meanwhile, the risk of an accidental nuclear war is growing considerably. Dangerous incidents with nuclear weapons have so far had a happy outcome thanks mainly to sophisticated technical means of control. Nowadays the very meaning of the concept "accident" is radically changing. It has come to involve not only warheads but the entire control mechanism of nuclear warfare. As immediate human contact with technical means of control disappears (e.g., when they are placed in outer space), this mechanism will increasingly depend on chance. By turning its military potential into a high-speed space-based nuclear complex, the United States is creating a supersystem, a blend of formidable weapons and electronic devices highly independent in making a decision to launch a nuclear strike. Responsibility for political decisions is thus delegated to computers.

The human chain of peace around a U.S. military base in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The transfer of modern weapon control functions to automated systems is being accompanied by another no less alarming tendency, namely, the appearance of new first-strike weapons systems. Their flight range is so great and flight time is so small that the entire planet may become a theatre of operations. Their speed and ability covertly to reach their targets increase the threat of a surprise attack, while their high accuracy makes it possible to destroy enemy troops at their bases or in deployment areas, thus denying the enemy any chance to retaliate.

All these are qualitatively new strategic factors. For some reason the American military and politicians view them as advantageous solely to the United States—but it is far from being so. Objectively, the national security of the United States will increasingly depend not on the quantity and quality of its weapons, which, moreover, cannot win a war, but on the "immunity" of the world's military, first of all nuclear, potential to errors and malfunctions in electronic weapon control systems. The arms race based on scientific and technological progress is coming into conflict with itself, leading to a strategic chaos and jeopardizing the very possibility of any talks on disarmament.

Perhaps the most difficult task is to understand the real danger. The formidable, truly fantastic forces brought to life by man are actually unsolved mysteries. Man is only learning to control them and has to display utmost caution and maximum political wisdom and common sense in doing so. Political thinking in the NATO countries is dangerously lagging behind the grim realities of the nuclear-space age under the pernicious influence of militarism. This lag directly leads to major blunders and fatal mistakes. It is inadmissible in the age when the whole of the world faces the threat of instantaneous annihilation. Sooner or later, the U.S.A. and its partners will have to weigh up the new round of the arms race unleashed by them and their own security, and then militarism—man-hating philosophy and

practice—will apparently have to give way to a philosophy of reason, political realism and disarmament.

The Voice of Reason

The 27th Congress of the CPSU drew fundamental conclusion: world history is going through a crucial stage, which calls for a drastic revision of our way of thinking, a bold renunciation of outdated stereotypes, categories and forms of political thinking and a sharp turn from confrontation to international détente.

Mankind has been plagued by wars throughout history. Tribes and whole states were wiped away and empires crumbled. But few people could think that the time would come when war would be able to annihilate the human race completely.

This time has now come. It is the time of new approaches and evaluations. What we have today is not merely the confrontation of two social systems fraught with enormous losses in the event of an armed clash between them, but the choice between survival and mutual destruction. The very existence of the human race is hanging in the balance.

The military and political confrontation of the two systems has reached such an extent that even a limited use of nuclear weapons will inevitably trigger a chain reaction and escalate into a world thermonuclear catastrophe. This "critical mass" is so far controllable—but tomorrow it can get out of hand. Hence the conclusion: to survive, we should resolutely cast aside the ingrained idea that more weapons means more security. However hard the militarist forces may try to justify the arms race, they are unable to conceal the truth that modern weapons give no state the hope to protect itself only by military technology because no state can now win a nuclear war or the very arms race.

The provision of security is first of all a political task. It can be accomplished only when politicians will at long last understand the objective interests of different countries and start looking for areas of agreement between such interests and for subsequent actions to bridge the gap between them.

Today the security of any state depends on how seriously it considers the security of others and, moreover, contributes to it. Security can only be mutual and only universal. "We do not want a change of the strategic balance in our favour," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "We do not want this, because such a situation will increase the suspicion of the other side and the instability of the general situation."

The arms race, let alone nuclear war, can no longer be a continuation of policy. The former leads policy into a blind alley, and the latter will put an end to any policy. In the present objective conditions on the international scene the confrontation between capitalism and socialism can develop only in the form of peaceful competition and peaceful rivalry.

The concept of survival gives a new meaning to the civic stand of every man on problems of war and peace. Nuclear weapons equally threaten all people, acting as the universal cause which prompts them to think in common categories and jointly seek a way out of the deadlock fraught with a world disaster.

The Soviet Union does not ignore or conceal the existing contradictions with the U.S.A. and its allies. The West, too, should build its relations with the East without playing up these contradictions to the exclusion of everything else, let alone regarding the security interests of the U.S.S.R. as the direct opposite of its own.

Strategic parity should at last become the natural condition of East-West relations and the basis of talks for lowering it to the level of reasonable sufficiency with equal security for the sides maintained at every step on that road.

The Soviet Union favours an all-embracing, multi-dimensional approach to the establishment of an international security system in the belief that it can be truly dependable for all only if a complex of problems in every field, including military, political, economic and humanitarian, are resolved. Herein lies the meaning of the Soviet concept of a comprehensive international security system.

Mankind has already been given the first examples of new political thinking. On January 15, 1986, the Soviet leadership advanced a programme for a stage-by-stage and total elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the 20th century. At the 27th Congress of the CPSU next month this programme was organically combined with the Soviet concept of a comprehensive international security. In June the socialist countries presented a detailed plan for drastic reductions of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. New proposals were tabled at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, the Stockholm conference, the first round of which ended successfully, at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, and at the Vienna talks. A broad programme for ensuring security and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific and for creating an international regime for safe nuclear power development was formulated. A programme of "star peace," the establishment of a world space organization, was put before the United Nations as an alternative to the "star wars" plans. In August 1986 Moscow again extended its moratorium on nuclear testing. The Soviet Union also took a new approach to verification: please, come to the U.S.S.R., make checks at launching sites, test ranges, military plants and laboratories, and set up your verification equipment—provided only it is disarmament measures rather than the arms race that will be verified. The far-reaching Soviet poposals on disarmament made at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Reykjavik are fresh confirmation of the Soviet Union's policy of peace.

These are the practical instances of new political thinking, of the Soviet Union's sober and scientific evaluation of deep-going changes in the world and the realities of the nuclear-space age. The Soviet Union convincingly demonstrated that if the West takes an honest attitude to the problem of removing the nuclear threat, some of the weapons could immediately be cut by half and eventually abolished altogether.

So far there are no signs of the new in the political thinking and practical actions of the U.S.A. It does not want to get into the substance of the matter, saying that the Soviet Union is deliberately over-dramatizing the situation and indulging in propaganda. Meanwhile, the flywheel of the arms race is being accelerated.

Today the fate of peace and social progress is linked with the dynamic economic and political development of the socialist world system. The trend for a change in the world alignment of forces in favour of peace is stable and virtually irreversible. Moreover, it is gaining ground. In the fight for peace the socialist countries express solidarity with the national and social liberation forces, closely cooperate with socialist-oriented countries, revolutionary-democratic parties and the non-aligned movement, and broaden contacts and cooperation with Social Democrats and other political forces, with the anti-war movements, with all those who work for a reliable international security. All

this constitutes a qualitatively new and steadily growing social base of opposition to the aggressive course of imperialism and to the military-industrial complexes as its organizers and vehicles.

The growth of this opposition is also manifested in other ways. The policy of Washington, which spurs on militarization not only at home but also in other capitalist countries, increasingly comes into conflict with their genuine security interests. Doubts are growing among the governments and public of West European countries whether U.S. policy accords with Western Europe's concepts of its security and whether Washington is not going too far with its claims to "leadership." These questions are asked not only by the West Europeans.

Militarism today infringes on many vital interests of mankind and distracts enormous resources which could well be used to accelerate the socio-economic progress of all countries. It cultivates hatred and mistrust and makes it impossible to pool efforts and resources for the solution of global problems. All this sets the mass of people into motion, provoking resistance to militarism.

It should be remembered that only a part of the capitalist class has merged with militarism politically, economically and ideologically. The existence and activity of the military-industrial complex arouse protests among those representatives of the capitalist class who think peaceful coexistence to be an essential condition of the physical survival of capitalism as a social system. They identify their instinct for survival with the survival of the human race as a whole.

The dangers of the nuclear-space age call for proper political evaluations of the objective world situation. The accumulation of weapons has reached a point where age-old military categories such as superiority, war, victory and defeat are losing their meaning. War is senseless today. The side launching war destroys itself. Madness will be the winner and human civilization and the very life on earth the loser.

All this imperatively calls for the assertion of new political thinking in international relations, which presupposes energetic efforts on a global scale to block the offensive of militarism, to tie the hands of the military-industrial complex and then to dismantle it. A study of the nature, structure and methods of activity of the complex is necessary for a proper understanding of the danger hanging over mankind and for an effective struggle against it. ■

Photographs sent in by Klaus Rose (F.R.G.) have been used in this supplement; other illustrations have been taken from the Soviet news agency TASS, the magazines U.S. News and World Report and Armed Forces Journal (U.S.A.), Panorama (Italy), Stern and Spiegel (F.R.G.), International Defence Review and NATO Review, the newspapers Christian Science Monitor (U.S.A.), Süddeutsche Zeitung (F.R.G.), Dagens Nyheter (Sweden), and from Tom Gervasi's book "America's War Machine."

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